"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all

the inhabitants thereof."

"I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that mil-

"Hay this down as the law of nations. I say that military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, and SLAVERT AMONG THE REST; and that, under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the Passibary of The United States, but the Connances of the amount of the subject, not only the Passibary of The United States, but the Connances of the Amny, HAS POWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMAN. OIPATION OF THE SLAVES. From the instant that the slaveholding States become the theatre of a war, civils, service, or foreign, from that instant the war powers of Congress extend to interference with the institution of slavery, in every war in which it can always the stronged, to the cession of States, bardened with slavery, to a foreign power. It is a war power; and when your country is actually in war, whether it be a war of travasion or a war of insurrection, Congress

power; and when your country is accurally in war, whether it be a war of invasion or a war of insurrection, Congress

has power to con y on the war, and near camer or on, According to the Laws or was; and by the laws of war, an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institu-

tions swept by the board, and MARTIAL POWER TAKES THE PLACE OF THEE. When two hostile armies are set in martial array, the commanders of both armies have power to emme

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POBERT F. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT.

TERMS - Three dollars per asnum, in advance. Four copies will be sent to one address for TEN ans, if payment is made in advance.

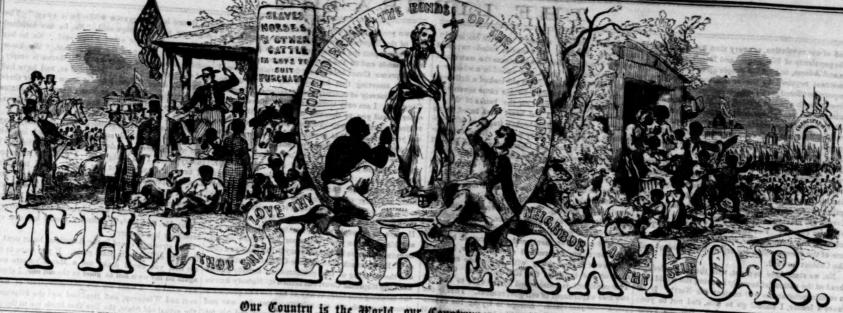
All remittances are to be made, and all letters relating to the pocuniary concerns of the paper are to be imeted, (rost rath,) to the General Agent.

Advertisements of a square and over inserted three at five cents per line; less than a square, 75 cents for three insertions. Yearly and half yearly advertise-

gold lines. Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Penn-givais, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies are actionised to receive subscriptions for The Lerenaton. The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, be are not responsible for any debts of the paper, vis: - Wexdell Phillips, Edward Quincy, Ed-TID JACKSON, and WILLIAM L. GABRISON, JR.

VOL. XXXIV. NO. 1.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JANUARY 1, 1864.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

Refuge of Oppression.

With Min Va Middle Min va seems a mean of dire determ, it is more than it; and on each the permitted contained in the state of the Southern Street when the permitted contained in the state of the Southern Street when the permitted contained in the state of the Southern Street when the permitted contained in the state of the Southern Street when the permitted contained in the state of the Southern Street when the permitted contained in the state of the Southern Street when the permitted contained in the state of the Southern Street when the permitted contained in the state of the Southern Street when the permitted in the state of the Southern Street when the permitted in the state of the Southern Street when the street Street when the state of the Southern Street when the street Street w

of heart the grief which so great a calamity could alone call forth.

Fanates are invariably seditions, and sedition is the detestable vice that radicates itself deepest into the human heart. When the swords of the Romans and the avenging fire from heaven combined for the destruction of Jerusalem, many of the Jews were employed in railing against whatever measures were adopted for the city's defence; and their historian tells us that their lives and their sedition caded together; while their lives lasted, they never ceased to revile both heaven and earth. Can we not trace a similarity between those unhappy creatures, and the men of our own day and country who make an apotheosis of John Brown? Their whole lives are in defiance of the Divine Goodness, and in hostility to all social order. Their intellectual and moral pivot is established upon a sentiment, a prurient, sickly, contemptible sentiment conceived in irreligion and carried out in besotted finaticism. This puling sentiment of abolitionism entered in our midst, like another Trojan horse, and has been fed by old ladies at quilting matches over their souff and over their tea, and by reverent quacks, poetasters and demanogures; and at length over their snuff and over their tea, and by reverend oracks, poetasters and demagogues; and at length, bursing into full life, it has ridden into power, and promises to enthral all those true friends of the Amazian Pinion and those true friends of the Amazian Pinion and the Pinion American Union who dare express a modest dissi-dence from its pernicious teachings and revolutiona-

We invoke the little patriotism that lingers at Washington to lift itself above the African slough, and to legislate for white men, by which course alone the national authority can be vindicated, treason slenged, and the blazilize of court liberary preson alenced, and the blessings of equal liberty pre-served to ourselves and our posterity.—Boston Pilot

MORE ABOLITION AGITATION.

We see by the eastern papers, that the abolition We see by the eastern papers, that the abolition distribution of that section are about to resume their old habit of flooding the country with finerating lecturers to poison the public mind, by preaching the beauties of the negro race. The American Anti-Slavery Society makes no secret of the intention. It says an additional number of these lecturers have been employed, and calls on all "lovers of freedom" to send cash contributions to keep them

shall have the old re-inforced by a still hungrier swarm of broken-down clergymen, whilom dis-nionists, women, negroes, Sunday politicians, spir-italists, and free-lovers. These, and such as these, will probable the control of the probably visit every nook and corner of the the propagity visit every nook and corner to the land this winter as teachers of the American people. The more these men have denounced churches, religions, bibles, laws, the Constitution and the Union, the manufacture of the land of greater will be their anticipated reward, in the

is the end never to come? Will the American people never to come? Will the American people never developer their systematic worship of hambug? Can the day be far distant when these harthern preachers and lecturers, who have spent their life-time in section. me in seeking to subvert and overthrow the Union of the American States, shall be looked upon as moral monstrosities?—Milwaukee News.

RIGHTS OF NEGROES.

Mr. Wendell Phillips complains of the President's Mr. Wendell Phillips complains of the President's plan of reconstruction, that "it leaves the negro in the lands of the Supreme Court, so far as the Federal power is concerned." We should like to know where Mr. Phillips would have him left? White men of all classes and grades, from the President to the humblest citizen, are "left in the hands of the Supreme Court." That is for them the lighest tribunal in the land. Why should the negroclaim or expect any other?

supreme Court." That is for them the highest tribunal in the land. Why should the negro-claim or expect any other?

The fact is, Mr. Phillips, and the fanatics who follow is lead, have become complete monomaniacs on the subject of the negro. They have brooded so long over his wrongs that they cannot conceive that anybody else has any rights. They claim for negroes virtues, immunities, privileges and rights, which they would never dream of claiming for whites. They profess to support the Constitution will it stands in the way of their schemes for negro supremacy; then they abandon the Constitution, and stand by the negro.

They are for preserving the Union, if it will help the negroes; if not, they are for destroying it. They are for prosecuting the war because it will help the legroes; the moment they find or fancy it will not, they are for peace. Mr. Phillips would infinitely

by very bad motives, that it threatens to play the mischief with their favorite hobbies, and that it ought to be promptly recalled.

The Argus and the Liberator see through the same pair of spectacles, and harp upon the same string. The motive is dissimilar; the end sought for is widely different; but the attack is made with the same weapons.

Nor is the Liberator the only co-laborer of the Democracy in the war on the President's scheme of amnesty. Wenderly the Hillers takes the field, and launches against it the thunders of his matchless but perverted eloquence.

Thus the impracticables and fanatics on both sides join hands in a common crusade against the President's plan. This, in itself, is convincing evidence that it has virtue in it. It, moreover, refutes the charge that it is an "extreme" or "revolutionary" measure.—Albany Evening Journal.

A REBEL VIEW OF EDWARD EVERETT'S GETTYSBURG ORATION.

Edward Everett's oration at Gettysburg is what might have been expected of that unreal, metaphorical, moonlight orator. It matters little to him what the facts are, so he has full scope for fancy, inagination, and rhetoric. He is always at home when dealing with dead men, and never so happy as when dealing with dead men, and never so happy as when the dealing with dead men, and never so happy as when the dealing with dead men, and never so happy as when the dealing with dead men, and never so happy as when on funeral occasions. He delights to water the flow-increase of his fancy with the blood of the brave, and his

what the facts are, so be has full scope for fancy, imagination, and rhetoric. He is always at home when dealing with dead men, and never so happy as when on funeral occasions. He delights to water the flowers of his fancy with the blood of the brave, and his imagination runs riot when it can strike its roots into the mold of sepulchres. Hervey's 'Meditations among the Tombs' seem to be the model of his funeral eloquence. "A dainty plant is the ivy green, creeping over dead men's graves, I ween." Everett would be glad to have a Gettysburg every month, if he could be selected to recite what others have done. His ambition does not consist in performing virtuous actions himself, but reporting them. When he can sing his elegiac and sentimental common-place over the dull cold car of death, he is quite enraptured. Much as he admires his dead heroes, he admires much more his description of their achievements, and would infinitely rather described. Edward Everett began life a Unitarian preacher, and is still a Unitarian, rejecting the Scripture doctrine of human depravity, which never had a better illustration than his own character. Laying aside preaching, he took to politics, joining the Whig party, while his brother joined the Democratic, the better to play into each other's hands. There never was any more reality in the man's politics than in his religion. The man himself is glittering and hollow as a soap-bubble. He is as cold as a frog. There is nothing genial or generous about him; no sympathy with any earthly thing, except Edward Everett. It would be fille to deny him a reanectable degree of the fill the content of the most of the men whom they have called to lead the head of that distinction were ceived with mocking, and which has since been is will. We have to swear that the proclamation of emancipation which he is sued last year, and which has since been is a general derision, shall be submitted to by us. Our society is to be upturned. Instead of that distinction to the maching has been been at all until his

ments cut out clothing. Under the instruction of skiled seamstresses, we were recently fugitives from the seamstresses, when recently fugitives from the seamstresses were recently fugitives from the seamstresses when recently fugitives from the seamstresses when recently fugitive from the seamstresses when recently fugitive from the grant flushed only, according to the Great Proclamation. The highest defects in the replaced of the Great Proclamation. The highest defects in the replaced of the Great Proclamation. The highest defects in the Great Proclamation and the cost seamstresses when the seamstresses were declared concerning more than the reduction of the plants and the recommendation of the plants and the recommendation of the plants and the recommendation of the reception of the bundled and twenty days will see this double and economical emigration complete.

I.V. There will be seen the groundwerp preparation from three contraband camps yet remaining on the north side of the Potomae. Nuct' days will see this double and economical emigration complete.

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and got the Turks—" one to be the could of the first of the could of the country of the country

person of his poor and helpless brothers! Come for ward, ye blessed, who have been true to the rights of the least and the lowest—to the rights of those who could not recompense your fidelity! Inherit the kingdom! It is yours benceforward; and ye shall sit on the right hand of Power.

Yours, in the patience of hope and the labor of love,

CHARLES G. AMES.

WHOLE NO. 1717.

FROM REV. DAVID THURSTON.

LITCHFIELD CORNER, Me., Nov. 20, 1868.

DEAR Six: I thank you for the invitation to the thirtieth anniversary of our Society at Philadelphia. I call it ours, because I aided in its organization, and have never formally withdrawn from it. Though for reasons, which seemed to me satisfactory, I have taken no part in its meetings of late, I have never departed from its principles, as stated in our Declaration—the immediate and entire abolition of slavery in the United States, "by all those instrumentalities sanctioned by law, humanity and religion; and thus to deliver our land from its deadliest curse, and to wipe out the foulest stain which rests upon our national escutcheon." Not a month before we met at Philadelphia to form an Anti-Slavery Society, I had preached three sermons on the subject of slavery, and, among other things, said that "it ought immediately to cease, because its continuance is preparing the way for civil war." Here I freely and thankfully acknowledge my indebtedness to you for enlightening me on the horrid cruelty and abominable wickedness of holding and using men as articles of property. No human enactments (falsely called laws) can change a being, created with the faculties necessary to make him a moral agent, accountable to his Creator, into an article of property, a marketable commodity. Never have I failed to bear testimony against slaveholding as a practice fraught with wrongs and wose unutterable. I do not call it an institution or a system, for it is neither. I constantly maintain the inherent, inprescriptable right of the slaves to freedom.

Because, as a nation, we have withheld from them that sacred right, at the same proclaiming our be-LITCHFIELD CORNER, Me., Nov. 20, 1863.

I constantly maintain the musical right of the slaves to freedom.

Because, as a nation, we have withheld from them that sacred right, at the same proclaiming our belief that all men are endowed by their Creator with the inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, in the righteous Providence of God, the leaders in the rebellion have risen up to punish us and themselves for our atrocious wickedness.

the devices of the crafty, so that their hands cannot perform their enterprise."

Probably not many of those whose names are attached to our Declaration still survive. I may be one of the oldest, having past my eighty-fourth year nine months, and still able to plead the cause of the oppressed. Gladly would I be with you on the 3d and 4th of December, to recount some of the conflicts, trials, discouragements and bopes, through which our cause has passed. Surely, we may "thank God and take courage," for the right will ultimately prevail. Domestic affliction must prevent my personal attendance. Give my kind regards to those pioneers in the good abolition cause, who may be present at the contemplated meeting. I rejoice pioneers in the good abolition cause, who may be present at the contemplated meeting. I rejoice wit them in the brightening prospect of having our country freed from that most inhuman and flagitiously wicked practice, which has exerted such a fearfully deposition in the contemplation. demoralizing influence through the whole

On behalf of the oppressed, I am truly with DAVID THURSTON. WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

FROM GEORGE E. BAKER, ESQ.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 2, 1863.

Gentlemen: Your invitation to attend the celebration of the Third Decade of the American Anti-Slavery Society was received by me with grateful bration of the Third Decade of the American Anti-Slavery Society was received by me with grateful feelings. Circumstances prevent my accepting it. Cheering as the prospect now is of the abolition of American slavery, there never was a time more favorable for a bold discussion of its nature and evils; nor a time when such discussion was more necessary. The people need a fuller appreciation of the intrinsic wickedness of slavery. John Wesley indulged in no figure of speech when he said, "American slavery is the sum of all villanies." He said truly and literally, if we could add up, as we add up a column of figures, Murder, Theit, Adultery, Fraud, etc., the total would be—Slavery. The slaveholder is guilty not of one of the great sins only, but of all combined. Yet how many regard slavery chiefly as an economic evil, a question of expediency!

The rapid extinction of slavery now going on, at such fearful cost of blood and treasure, was foreseen by some of our great statesmen. They seem to have been of two classes. Mr. Everett in his Gettysburg Oration intimates that he saw it, and strove, "perhaps too long," to avert the catastrophe by compromise. He represents one and much the larger class.

Mr. Seward, on the other hand, saw the result forty years ago, and sought to save the country from ty years ago, and sought to save the country from convulsion and war by constantly raising his voice of

Mr. Seward, on the other hand, saw the result forty years ago, and sought to save the country from convulsion and war by constantly raising his voice of warning, and by counselling the putting away of slavery through peaceful measures. To this end, with a small minority of his fellow-citizens, he labored. To this end also Channing, Garrison, Gerrit Smith, Sumner and others wrote and spoke. "Man proposes, but God disposes." An almighty Power has taken the work from finite hands, and now we wait for the salvation of God. now we wait for the salvation of God.
Your friend and servant,

GEO. E. BAKER.

A GOOD DEFINITION. In reference to Earl Russell's description of our war as a struggle for empire on one side and for independence on the other, Richard Cobden adds: "I say it is an aristocratic ebellion agains: a democratic government."

WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESQ., COOPER INSTITUTE, NEW YORK,

On Tuesday Evening, December 22, 1863, on Presid Lincoln's Message and Proclamation.

A very large audience assembled at Cooper Institute, Tuesday evening, Dec. 22d, to hear Wendell Phillips's criticism on the President's late message

John E. Williams, Esq., was nominated by G. W malley, to preside, and in a few patriotic remarks introduced the orator of the evening.

Mr. Phillips, after the applause with which he wa

greeted had subsided, said :-

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN .- Four years ago this month, I had the honor to assist in giving the body of John Brown to the hills he loved. Selfishness, which steals the name of conservatism, sneered at hi life as a ridiculous failure. And some men, who call ed themselves his friends, excused his attempt on the ground that he was a lunatic. We know better now The rebellion has broken into the cabinets of the cor spirators; and we know of a surety, that the echoes of his rifles had hardly died away on the banks of the Shenandoah, before South Carolina prepared for war in defence of her system. Four years have roll ed away. And now, December 8th, exactly on the fourth anniversary day of his burial, the victoriou President of the nation offers eleven rebel States per nission to return to the Union, on conditions which John Brown would gladly have accepted after twenty years of hard fighting. Marvelous progress in four years. Well might the old man say, as he did, to Theodore Parker, "I may fall-I may expiate my rashness on the gibbet, but I open a terrible vial. But the terms which would have been gladly accepted in 1859-naked, bald, technical liberty for the negro are not to be thought of for a moment in 1863. (A) plause.) Let me remind you of the trite story of the Roman sybil. She came to Tarquin with her nin books, and offered them for a thousand crowns; turn ed away, she came back with six books at the same price of a thousand crowns; refused, she came back third time with only three books, still for a thousand crowns. So the conscience of the North, in 1821, would gladly have granted peace at the price of only the freedom of the territories. In 1831, she demand ed immediate and total emancipation wherever the flag floats. Both were contemptuously refused, and after the gun at Sumter, followed by three years of blood and costly war, there is no safe, no admissible condition of peace, but the substantial, practical protection of the freedom of the negro, and the elements of national life so arranged as to guarantee peace and democracy forever within the borders of the nation

is in the light of this reminiscence and of this ne cessity, that I am going to criticise for you to-night the message and proclamation of the President on the 8th day of the present month, contending that his plan r reconstruction is now neither wise, safe, nor feasi ble. Some men say, why make any serious criticism of the proclamation ! We know very well that Mr does not expect that it will be accepted, and only makes the offer that the South's refusal may put her in an indefensible position before the world. would not insult the head of this great nation by asserting, that in such a momentous hour he offers terms of peace which he is not willing to have accepted man who trusts either the sincerity or the hor of Abraham Lincoln can look to the proclamation in any other light than as a declaration of the terms of which the President is willing the Union may be re constructed. But apart from that, no matter what be our individual judgment of the President, every ma knows that the masses will take, and they have a right to take, and cannot avoid taking, that declaration of the government as containing admissible and safe co ons of reconstruction. The public purpose and effort will crystallize round that, will sink to that level. will fall into full content with finally getting as much as the President claims. This is one of the most dangerous effects of this proclamation. It will, unless frankly criticised, let the purpose of the nation down to a dangerous level. Every one looks up to the Pres ident as acquainted beyond any other individual with ties and details of this question. The pub liclregard him as surveying it from a loftier outlook than is permitted to any other man. And we should do him an injustice, which the masses of the nation will never do him, to suppose that the proclamation does not, in his deliberate judgment, and with full the future peace and integrity of the Union.

Again, other men say, why criticise the President You know very well that he is a growing man, with | years. his face Zionward; you know very well, in the spring too late, while you may make a good bargain; that in the fall of the same year he had travelled on to the proclamation of September 22d, a hundred days after o the proclamation of the first of January. I know it All honor to the growing man-all honor to the recip ient intellect who loves to learn and grow better. But how does he learn? Why did he grow! Because we watered him. (Applause and laughter.) on. (Applause and laughter.) I am here to ask you to persevere in the same effort. Even with regard to those steps, the proclamation early in 1862, the arm negroes, the proclamation of Septembe 1862, and that of January 1863, I should do no injus tice to the President if I said that the nation force him to them. Indeed, the President's merit is that the obstinacy of his resistance is not so strong as are the force of events and the pressure of public opinion which crush it. But he delayed even those steps so long as almost to exhaust the patience and confidence of his own friends. I believe he took them reluctan ly at last. And here let me correct the exaggeration of the press, in speaking of my interview with Mr. Lincoln, on the 25th day of January 1863. His remark has been grossly exaggerated. What he did say was this. Referring to his proclamation of Sepnber and that of January as, in truth, one act, and to the democratic triumphs that intervened, he said that he doubted whether the proclamation had not done more harm than good; and this view he argued for some time pertinaciously. Then, as now, his anxiety was more in regard to Northern opinion than Southern battles; and indeed, he seems to allude to the state of his mind in the sentence of his recent messag where, in reference to the Emancipation Proclams tion, he says, "Then followed dark and doubtfudays." He soon learned from you to believe other wise. Now his whole heart is in that act. Do your part as well now again, and he may be made to lieve in a method of reconstruction much safer and better than the one he has suggested. But further and spart from this, 1862 is not 1863. The terribi exasperation of fierce battles lost and gained urged The bloody months that followed, the sore President at the head of the nation drifted with the great national purpose. He might then have said what he chose. Events overruled him. As in the ballad

The king said "sail," .

But we touch the latter half of the war. We comin this contest to the epoch not of battle, but of politics, when the President's words are far more influential than they were two years ago: when battles are becoming secondary, and political engineering is primary in importance. We come in this civil strife t that epoch which 1781 and 1782 marked in our revolutionary struggle, when, as Washington said, you re-"The spirit of freedom which at the com nt would have gladly sacrificed everything for the attainment of its object, has long subsided, and every selfish passion has taken its place." We approach the end of this war; it is half concluded. At the same

period of our revolution, as every man knows, it took ways find it safe to abuse a man to his consin all the popularity of Washington and Morris, and Ham (Laughter.) England, our cousin, hated us; and ilton and Adams, to hold the people up to the terrible earnestness required by the revolutionary struggle. Compromise offered at this era, terms of settlement, pro- thank God! (Laughter.) But she looked a little lon claimed to such a people divided, one half of them anti- ger, and out of that bursted bubble came seven hunadministration, ready from sympathy to stretch out the dred thousand armed men on the panes of the readiest hand to the rebels,—the other, supporters of tomac—(applause)—and the heart that hated began Mr. Lincoln, proud of success, magnanimous from to fear us. She said, this broken fragment of a peostrength, feeling that the game is in their own hands, willing to be merciful,—are trebly perilous. At the head of such a people, part wearied, part corrupt, part over-confident, the President lays before the nation are more terribly eloquent than he. (Applause, terms of reconstruction, and they mean infinitely more Then, France—the Emperor of France is a long-head than his groping footsteps in 1861 and 1862. Men say again, "Why trouble yourselves about the message! lets-anxiously keeping alive the spark of Mexican Events are making everything sure." I know it; but what are events? You and I are one of them. The termined purpose ahead. He plans, during the diffiintellect, the purpose, the virtue of the millions, is culties of this nation, a serious effort to arrest the one of the events which are urging the President and march of self-government, and the astutest head on

he may trust himself to ask

Chattanooga was a brave sound at the White House, and gave its tenant sound sleep; but the election of Schuvler Colfax was ten times braver, and made him sleep ten times sounder, (applause) for he knew that Grant could go to the Gulf when he chose; (loud applause) but he did not know whether the Northern purpose, culminating in the election of the speaker neant to say amen to the most radical dream of the nation. And when he heard that vote of the House of Representatives, your attorney at the White House

lared more than he ever dared before.

It is therefore here and to you, that I, as one of the people, undertake to enter my protest against the clamation, and to ask of you to demand more of the government than that document covers. (Ominous silence.) Say not that I am doing injustice to Mr. Lincoln. As my old professor at the law college used to say, "Gentlemen, I know my profession so well, that I need not blush when I say no to a ques-

So Mr. Lincoln has done such service in this rebellion, has carved for himself a niche so high in the world's history, that he can well afford to have his

There are two kinds of men in statesmanship. One is the servant of the people, and the other is the moulder of the people. To the first class belongs our President and his cabinet; the other class is made up of different material.

Andrew Jackson was one when, in defiance of prophets and merchants, he flung down his gauntlet of de- cerely deluded, the South does believe a lie, and is will mocracy and waited till the nation endorsed him. Butler (applause) was another, when over Chesapeake bay he thundered the new word "contraband," (applause) and waited until the nation endorsed him. Fre mont was another (great applause,) when in the summer of 1861 he gave the nation 'its watchword, and breathed into Missouri the breath of a righteous existence. And my opinion is-every man has a right to his opinion-my opinion is, that if that class of men had presided over the destinies of the nation in the summer of 1861, we could have finished this war in two years, with all the advantages that we shall get and yet its end is certain; and what that end is to b placed us as we are, and all it demands of us is vigi. lance. The tenure of Democratic liberty is to be worthy of it. Men say, the third time, "Why criticise the Proclamation! Slavery is dead, and no man can revive it." I have heard that two or three times; it has been the song of the nation two or three times. In 1787, when the Constitution was framed, the South said, and the North believed, that slavery had received its death-blow. Gen. Heath, of my State, said, Slavery has got its death-wound." Southern men affirmed the same. It was supposed that it could not her mind. The North thought of the breathe in the pure mountain air of revolutionary liberty; the lightning of the sons of liberty had struck it her for four years, and learned to respect her sincerity dead. But at that moment, the devil hovered over if not her intelligence, and out of that mutual respect Charleston with a handful of cotton seeds. Dropped is to grow a Union as indestructible and indivisible as which has bound New England and New York to the not the fear. As I said before—as Mr. Lincoln shows car of the Carolinas, and enslaved the North for seventy it-it is here at the North-the question of how much

In 1821, at the Missouri Compromise, John Randolph, of Virginia, said, "slavery is dead; the time is near, you will see it, when the slave master will run victory, to my knowledge. In wars between two nafrom his slave as a burden, instead of the slave running from his master as a tyrant;" but slavery leapt but in a nation divided on its own soil, there never over the Mississippi and culminated in this rebellion. was a strife which was not ended by compromise No, Dryden tells us, "idiots only may be cozened Ours will be. The only question is, what shall we twice." I have heard about slavery being dead. I compromise on? Once launched on the stormy and never will believe it till I see it buried where plummet turbid waters of politics, you cannot tell; but with the never sounded. (Applause.) No, my guide is the example of the Anti-Corn Law League in a similar emer- to the nation, you may compromise where and when gency. On the 19th day of Dec., 1845, Sir Robert you please, with one exception, and that is, the tap-root Peel, who had left office because he could not bring his of slavery shall be cut. (Applause.) Let thirty Souther comrades to a repeal of the bread tax, reassumed the office of First Lord of the Treasury at the bidding of tion, and what will be their first demand ⁷ It will be the Queen, pledged to take off that tax. On the 23d "Gentlemen, fund our debt." Your Representative of the same month, Cobden, Bright and Wilson and will go to the united body and want a tariff to pay Mr their fellows met in council. The London Times said | Chase's interest. The reply of the Democratic South to them, as the world says to us, "Gentlemen, your ern majority, or minority, will be, "Granted; we are work is done; give up all your professional vitupera- ready to provide for it when you please, provide tion, and go home." What was the reply of the wary that you tack on it, by way of rider, a tariff which will Englishmen? They said, in 1843, with the government pay our interest too, and only on that condition shall this question; in 1844, with the government still against us, we raised and spent one hundred thousand The builders of pirate ships in England have som pounds to agitate this question; and now, in 1845, with one hundred millions of this scrip, probably. Sup the government pledged to our purpose, we will raise two hundred and fifty thousand pounds to make it sure. Congress and say, "Gentlemen, this paper is not (Applause.) So, with the President pledged to my ose, with the government inevitably on my side. I will neither rest nor be silent until I see the Stars and Stripes mean inevitably, total, unconditional, im- Did you ever know a Congress which could not be mediate freedom. (Great applause.) You may say this is hard work. Yes, gentlemen, to be a democrat hope to see one ! (Laughter.) Consider the materials is very hard work. (Laughter.) Fisher Ames said, of which Congress is made; often of men who, by aristocracy is a noble frigate, tight and taut, thoroughly every base and equivocal act, have wriggled their way fitted, strongly armed. You may sit in the cabin to place. Perhaps this office is the last gift they can warm and dry, and only the storm that makes ocean expect of their party. Henceforth they sink back to kiss the heavens can sink her. But that can. Democ- the common level. racy is a raft; your feet always wet, but you cannot view, is nothing to them thereafter. To twenty such sink. Eternal vigilance; nobody to be trusted; that the tempter comes-and twenty gained are enough is to be democrat. The President's well-known ad- to decide any question. Your Alexander Ham vice, "Stand still and see the salvation of the Lord"- ilton, and the holders of our colonial debt, so small has been well commented on by Dr. Arnold of Rugby, thirty years ago. "It would have been good advice to the Israelites on the shores of the Red Sea—awaiting a miracle. It would have been false when they were to conquer Canaan with their own right ces does he make it? In the first place, look Texas annexation, and carried that measure. Now across the water. Look at England. I recognize more therefore, the first item of compromise will be gladly, more entirely than any man can, the magic and three or four thousand millions of debt. I do not obinestimable influence of the words of Henry Ward ject to that particularly, myself. It is the atonement Beecher on the other side of the water. (Applause.) which God demands of this nation for seventy years I know that when he melted the hearts of millions, he of sin. No sin is washed out with words. You canwelded them to our side. (Applause.) But the whole not cheat the devil of his due. Our fathers sinned English problem admits of a very brief statement.

us. There is no other single word that will express to be born for the next half century, to atone for the her feelings. Closely allied, kindred by close blood relationship, we trod on her heels. We over passed will be others. Now, it is in such a time, and with her on some points. She could not bear the rivalry nor the conquest. She felt it as close relatives alment of it, broadly considered? It is this: He lays ond, and obey it." The moderate tories, said, "No, State—the power in this State, and we can safely

y from sympathy to stretch out the dred thousand armed men on the banks of the Po a throne is our determined enemy. Now, I would No, we stand here to-night, with the acknowledged not answer France solely with bugle-note and rife head of the nation deliberately assuring the world that shot on the banks of the Rio del Norte. Oh, no a certain programme will content the North. If he were a leader, I should go to him, and not to you; should offer argument to his mind. But the Presiclaim—our just claim. Europe is trying the experident does not act simply from his own unbiased convic-tions. He bows to yours. He seeks to do your will. without our interference. But if France plants the With all his merits, (and they are great,) with all his germ of aristocracy and thrones in the soil of the services, (and they are momentous,) the President is American continent, my answer to her it, this reconnot a leader—never professed to be a leader. The President is the agent of public opinion. He waits to millions of dollars for Garibaldi, saying, take possesknow what you will allow and what you demand that sion of Rome; and one hundred millions for the rehe shall do. His anxiety is not South, over the bat publicans of Paris, saying, make Napoleon sit uneasy tle-field; he believes in Northern cannon; his anxiety and one hundred millions for Germany, saying, make Napoleon sit uneasy; and one hundred millions for Germany, saying, make Napoleon sit uneasy; and one hundred millions for Germany, saying, make Napoleon sit uneasy; and one hundred millions for Germany, saying, make Napoleon sit uneasy; leaves America to republicanism, well. If she inte feres, we interfere-(applause)-and the right hand of our resistance is clasped in brotherhood with the radi cals of Europe to upset every throne on the continent (Applause.) That is my foreign policy, and one far more within our control than that of Europe. Or the sea we are equals. She must send men here to carry out her plans on land ; but all her navies could not bring enough to endanger us. While in a box on

Now look South. I said, Lincoln does not fear th do. (Applause.) But look for nothing from him just yet. Every ounce of food his men have eaten wa ought to them fifteen miles over the hills by horse and that arm of the service needs rest as well a the others. He may not be heard of for sixty or ninety days; but be sure of this, he will not sit down and dig. (Long-continued applause.) When he does move, it will be to see the South retreat to the Gulf States-Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi. With their railroads worn out, and all their transportation exhausted, they have no means of bringing food to their army, and the army must go to the food. But when they have reached it, when five or six millions of men make up their minds that the forlorn spot is reached, then be sure the war is not ended yet.

The South are a brave people. Four years ago said to you under this roof, the South is no coward and you laughed at me. You know now that, sining to fight for it. The last forlorn refuge of such a people is a bloody fight. When in the eighth century the Musselmen poured over the Alps four hundr thousand strong, and Charles Martel, king of France could muster but fifty thousand men to meet them, he said-" Gentlemen, there is no France but what your feet cover." Nerved by such despair, they hurled the crescent back into the Mediterranean, and saved Europe to Christianity. The South fights with such motive and such a faith.

No, the war is not ended. It does not touch its end. we may read in the light of our own power and our own perseverance. The Union is to be reconstructed (Applause.) Daniel Webster said the cement of the Union was the Fugitive Slave Act. Sin never ce mented anything.

The cement of this Union is to be the mutual re-

spect of the sections, bred of that blood which has mingled on bravely-contested fields. The South thought of the Yankee as one who knew only how to cheat. She met him at Chattanooga, and changed

we will do and how far we will go. Now, all civil wars are ended by compromise. There never was a civil war in which one party got a clean you have a policy which is not tantamount to repudia You say this is not possible. Let me see worth five cents on the dollar; but we will give you twenty millions of it if by your vote you will make your twenty and our other eighty millions worth par. bought with twenty millions of dollars ? Do you ever Reputation, in a political point of that same scene, with another Alexander Hamil It is in that temper that I approach the ton, is to take place in the first reconstructed Congress The same fraud was perpetrated at the time of th inglish problem admits of a very brief statement.

When the war broke out, England as a unit hated hand of every living man, and of every child that is

Congress. I am only telling you what he does say, in order to lead you to demand of him something not subject to such danger. To show my purpose, let me cant, and I mean to clean it before they get back.

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worth the waste paper on which it is written. Leadtie and enable us to get a great deal more, and I do not
ing Republicans say so. What does Mr. Lincoln say?
mean to give up until I am convinced to the contrary. ing Republicans say so. What does Mr. Lincoln say?
He says, as he ought to say, nothing. He cannot say anything. When your Governor has signed an act, he cannot tell you its meaning any better than you can, or I. He must ask the Supreme Court to construe it—the love of Union, is State pride. If you were to tell matter than you can, or I. He must ask the Supreme Court to construe it—the love of Union, is State pride. If you were to tell matter than you can, or I. He must ask the Supreme Court to construe it—the love of Union, is State pride. If you were to tell matter than you can, or I. He must ask the Supreme Court to construe it—the love of Union, is State pride. If you were to tell matter than you can, or I were the love of Union, it is the pride that the love of Union, is State pride. and the meaning of that proclamation nobody knows until the Supreme Court has settled it. Nobody knows again on my own soil as good as the old one, I should the meaning and force of any of the laws or proclama- not want it. I want the old Massachusetts of Endi tions on which we are relying to stop this war and cott and Winthrop, and Bradford and the Pilgrimsprevent another, until Roger B. Taney and his fel- the actual old State, the line that binds me to the cablows settle it for us. In other words, the proclama- in of the Mayflower. So does Andy Johnson in Ten tion of the 1st of January, 1863, is to be filtered through the secession heart of a man whose body is in Balti-And I would save the State alive for them by an acmore, but whose soul, if he has one, is in Richmond, tion that would enable them to bring it back in thei (Applause.) It has to pass the ordeal of a bench of own method and their own time. Meantime, all that Judges who made the Dred Scott decision, and an- devolves upon me, is so to shape the Constitution that nounced that the negro has no rights which a white when they come back, they cannot come back except man is bound to respect. It has to pass the ordeal of free States. a set of Judges, the majority of whom are Southerners and the servants of Southerners, and who reached Constitution. Yes, our constitutional life is a limited their places by pandering to the Slave Power. Of one, except one line; but there is one line of the Conthe two who refused the Dred Scott decision, one is in his grave, and the other has resigned. Now, God Victoria, or the throne of France, by that line which help the negro if he hangs on Roger B. Taney for his says, "The people may amend the Constitution. liberty! I am not here to speak of the portentous power of the Supreme Court. You know what it is, the Gibraltar of our system, the point where our de- hereditary; you could give women the ballot; you Adopting the English plan of bowing to precedents, it is a system in which the opinions of the present retires to the wall and uses any weapon he can reach day are checkmated by the prejudices of men who to defend his life. International law says to that un were appointed fifty years ago, and who are obliged to which it creates—a nation—" If you are attacked, go respect the prejudices of men who have been in their to the wall; when you get there, you are at liberty to graves a hundred years. The hot-new purpose of to- use any means to preserve your life. Abolish dyday, just born of long, bitter experience, and tried in nasties, systems, property, statute books to any exfierce battle, is to be tested and measured by the fossil tent." In 1776 our fathers did not abolish George the prejudice and iron precedents of a century back. Put Third, they abolished kings, saying that kingcraft new wine into new bottles. Don't try to bind earth- was fatal to the colonies. In quakes with parchment bands. In ordinary times, I referred, the English did not abolish thrones, but they might have something to say about the rules of action said, "The divine right of kings has proved fatal to in our Supreme Court, considering its place as a polit- England. We cut off Charles the First's ical power in our system; I might object to the his son would behave better; but he behaves wors iron rigor of this English doctrine of precedents. Now we will elect our king, and hold him on that ten-But this is no hour to criticise our institutions. ure, and see if he will behave better." He has. So Leave that for times of peace. We must take things of France. The warrant for such abolition is to be as they are, and arrange our remedies to match the case. Leave the Supreme Court all the power it and in the legitimate functions of the government to claims. But call into exercise the reserved sovereign-ty of the nation, and provide a safeguard which is, law, an individual has the right of self-defence by all constitutionally, beyond the reach of that Court, as far means recognized by that law. In view of internaas anything can be in our system. To such a tribunal tional law, a nation is an individual, and has the righ President Lincoln proposes to submit the final settle- of self-defence by all means recognized by that law journ the fight, not knowing which party has beaten, nasty or institution which imperils national life. Si or how much we have gained, until that Court de- very has struck at the life of the nation, and declared cides on our measures. I asked one of the shrewdest its own existence incompatible with that of the namembers of the House of Representatives what he would give for the Proclamation before the Supreme organs, has a right to abolish slavery throughout its weeks, a prominent New England Senator said to me, cessity and duty of exercising this right without d "The greatest danger to the Proclamation is from the Supreme Court." On the President's plan we may Mr. Lincoln said, in the beginning of the war, "I see the insidious and gradual chicanery of cunning Judges filch from us all we have so dearly earned. And against such a danger, even while this ernment are understood to dare to say only, "I hope," did in 1850, and as Webster would not do to-day if h 'I expect," "Perhaps," the Supreme Court will en- were alive-bound in parchments and technicalities dorse the January Proclamation. Now mark you! Unlike Chatham, they come with law books doubled as commander-in-chief, and the author of these two down in dog's ears to advocate liberty by precedent. instruments, I am not finding fault with Mr. Lincoln. Like an old Massachusetts parson, who always refused It is just like this: Suppose you are the tenant of a to baptize a baby who was born on Sunday. (Laugh. house; the chimney smokes, your lease is out in thir- ter.) Now, what you want to-day is a statesmanship ty days; you do not trouble yourself with the chim- which says, "This is the hour of revolutionary con ney, but you throw up a window to make a draft. vulsions when the nation, resuming her sovereignty Very well, but yet the landlord remodels the chim- undertakes to set up barriers equal to the occasion. ney. Mr. Lincoln is a tenant at will, who goes out The lion's bloody jaws give evidence that we have the shortly. His Proclamation is throwing up the window right to shoot him to-day. But there are men among to create a draft; but, as the President, joined to you us who advise you to wait till he and Congress-THE NATION. I want him to ret the chimney. (Applause.) As commander-in-chief, he of States represented in Washington lays taxes, raises has freed slaves. I ask of the Nation to abolish slavery. armies, makes treaties, and does every act pertaining As commander-in-chief, he has done an act which the to the sovereignty of the nation. As well may Supreme Court may reverse, and may set aside in amend the Constitution. part or wholly. Of the Nation I claim an amendment

for the negro, that Court has announced that he has by parchment guarantees here, or by natural laws the whites who have won it."

three times since the outbreak of this rebellion.

James the Second had fled to Paris. The high in twelve months. And you will never bring it other-

his own proclamation and the acts of Congress at the the throne is in abeyance while he is away." The foot of the Supreme Court. He says the South is to Algernon Sidney whigs said, "No, he has foreited swear to support the various acts of the Government the throne;" and the other whigs said, "No, he has in his hands and in the hands of Congress, so far as the Supreme Court holds them to be valid. Now, I am not asserting that he could say anything else, and we mean to fill it." They did so, and have had speaking merely of millions and solve the says the support of the throne is empty, and we mean to fill it." They did so, and have had speaking merely of military proclamations and acts of no trouble since. Now, I do not know whether there

ask you what does that proclamation mean—the pro-clamation of the 1st of January, 1863 ?

I mean to make this platform such that they may come safely back, and soon back, and back in their Some of the members of the Cabinet say, it means that any negro who can get hold of it is free. Mr. theory unless I am obliged to. I will take an ounce that any negro who can get hold of it is free. Mr. Chase says that, in consequence of it, any negro down to the Gulf is free. (Applause.) Republicans in my Lincoln's proclamation if I cannot get any more; but State say, that there is no law in it; that it is not I think that three years of coatly and bloody war enti-

You may say, we have no power so to amend the stitution which gives us a sovereignty as unlimited as You could make Lincoln hereditarily President; if you chose, give it to his son. You could make the Senate found in the greatly imperilled state of the republic. We are to furl banners and ad- one of those means being the destruction of any dytion. Hence, the nation, acting through its official "Little or nothing," he said. Within five dominions; and past events demonstrate alike the ne-

> would try to save this Union without hurting slavery.' He showed he knew nothing about the crisis. There are men who go into the Senate house to day

and talk to you about the Supreme Court, as Webster nodel claws and pulls out his own teeth in 1900. That had

The lesson of to-day is: the Constitution to be of the Constitution which that Court is sworn to obey, and in such plain terms as they cannot misconstrue. second point of the proclamation of Mr. Lincoln. The That is, I want a platform which the Supreme natural law, which would have saved us, even with Court cannot touch. (Applause.) As a quid pro quo out an amendment of the Constitution, the President for this war, I want something of which I know the sets aside. He sets aside the Confiscation Act. He value to-day without consulting Judge Taney, and says all slaveholders, excepting about seven hundred. Judge Clifford, and Judge Catron, secessionists from may return to their estates, and the State may then the tops of their heads to the soles of their feet. come back on the vote of one-tenth of its old voters (Hisses and applause.) If you do not think so, go into the Union. What does that mean? Every man and examine them, that is all. (Renewed hisses and knows that land dictates government. If you hold applause.) If they have reformed and repented, and land, every man his own farm, it is a democracy ; you ot any better, I shall be glad to know it, if any man need not curiously ask of the statute book. If a fe has recent information ; ("Good!") but I judge them | men own the territory, it is an oligarchy; you need by their record; I judge them by their decisions. not carefully scan its laws. Thirty thousand families They may be trusted in belligerency questions and own England; it is an oligarchy. Every Massachu such like; not in any case into which the negro enters. setts farmer owns his house, and Jefferson Davis, mul-The New York Times asks me to-day whether I would tiplied by millions, could not make it anything but a not trust the negro where all the white men have been democracy. Daniel Webster said, in 1820, the revotrusted for the last twenty years? If I had had no lution in France has crumbled up the nobles' estates protection but the bench of the Supreme Court, I into small farms; the throne must either kill them or should have been in jail seven years ago; and as they will kill out the throne. Every man knows that Land being worth little or nothing without slaves no rights which white men are bound to respect. the land in our Southern States is owned almost ex-Before I trust the negro with them, I want to give clusively by slaveholders; and, from the nature o him at least the same protection from their prejudices their cultivation, in much larger lots than at the and caprices that I have, namely, THE CONSTITUTION. North. Now, while these large estates remain in the Now, what I should ask of Mr. Lincoln in this be- hands of the just defeated slave oligarchy, its power half is, an amendment of the Constitution, which his is not destroyed. But let me confiscate the land of advice to Congress would secure in sixty days. Sub- the South, and put it into the hands of the negroes mit to the States an amendment of the Constitution and white men who have fought for it, and you may which shall say, "Hereafter, there shall be neither go to sleep with your parchments. I have planted slavery nor involuntary servitude in any State of this Union sure to grow as an acorn to become an oak (Cheers.) Mr. Seward says that these Miss- You do not build governments like a clap-board issippi Senator's chairs stand empty, and he wants house; you plant them like an oak. Plant a hundred them filled. So do I: but he is for having them fill- thousand negro farmers and by their side a hun ed as they are. I am for making them so hot that a dred thousand of white soldiers, and I will risk the cannot sit in them. (Laughter and ap- South, Davis and all. (Applause.) When William plause.) I want the States back, and I want them the Norman conquered England, in order to guaran-back speedily, and I want them back in their full tee his conquest, he divided the land among his nobles strength, that we may say to France, "Go home, and and, practically, they hold it to-day. "I have contake care of your tottering throne!" (Applause.) quered the South," Civilization may say, "and I'll But before I receive these States, I will provide, either divide its territories among my nobles-the blacks and (Applause.) And then there, that there shall be real peace and democracy forever, when peace is once proclaimed. (Applause.)

Some men have one theory and some have another. Mr. Sumper has a theory that the Southern States mittee to whom Jeff. Davis gave five millions of dolare all dead,-there is nothing but territories. Mr. lars (such as they are,) with orders to take that State Dale Owen has a theory that the States are not dead, out of the Union : and he did his best and failed. only dormant, as the lawyers say, "in abeyance"- Now he lives there on his own plantation, with as gone to sleep, in common terms. Seward has a theo- many of his slaves as he can keep, protected by Rose ry that they are not gone to sleep at all-they are as crans, a contractor with the War Department to furalive as ever, only kicking on the wrong side. (Laugh-ter and applause.) make sixty thousand dollars this year. How soon If you will read the second volume of "Macau- will you bring back Tennessee at that rate? On the lay," the last fifty pages, you will find that he describes the English nation in the same circumstances,—a procedent to which I have referred two or who know that their title deed is the Union, and you

come back. Keep it from us; divide it between us and others, and we must either be exiles or be That is the practical common sense of the Unio of Tennessee and Louisians. The Johnsons, the Post. ers, the Bowens, will give us a free Tennessee, the noment you allow them to have power free frem the interference of the Hardings, Coquerels and Ches ams. And such confiscation is no hard measure hams. And such comments as no nare measure for those men who, to perpetuate slavery, lare brought this bloody and terrible war on the nation. From two sources I know of plans of immediate eman cipation in that State discussed, once by twenty slave. olders, and once by rather more, and in nore than seventeen of the group declared emphatieally for immediate emancipation without compens tion. No doubt these cases are the exception, not the rule; but this fact shows that the war has created in those States material fit for rebuilding them-educate ed men, who, properly aided, can and will bring then back safely to us, free States. Mr. Lincoln's prochmation sets that aside, and gives to the old slavehold ers, under the new guise of landowners, the power in the State. I need not theorize on this subject, the whole plan has been tried.

This experiment has been tried and found, in the resident's phrase, "an anger that won't bore." 1834, the British government emancipated the slaver of Jamaica. They left them as apprentices in the hands of their old masters, then the landholders to make for them all temporary arrangements, as Mr. Lincoln does now. "Temporary !" How long does that mean-fifty years? (A foot in old times meant the ength of a king's foot.). A temporary arrangement That is the way the British left the slaves of Ja What was the consequence in two years !- (the ap renticeship was to last six.) In two years they had behaved like such tyrants that Sir Edward Suga leader of the London bar, not an abolitionist, allowed that a complete case was made out against Janaica and the Imperial Parliament interfered and broke what was called the "contract," and set the slave ree; and when it was done, Lord Brougham said, in the House of Lords, "we need to keep a vigilant eye on these colonies. He trusted that the Island Legis stures would not by a vagrant act, poor law bill, no lice regulations or any other devices, attempt to perpetuate slavery under another name, or to revive up ler false pretences that slavery which under an odious name the law would not suffer to exist." In 1889, one year later, that Jamaica Legislature, as if in express defiance of Lord Brougham, had passed a vagrant act, a prison act, and petty debt act of which I will be you the contents. This is to show you how they treated the blacks committed to their care, for "tem. ommit our blacks. Previously to the emancipation f a black man had planted a little patch, and a horse respassed upon it, he could carry it to the pound, and get one or two shillings or a crown damage. The new Legislature amended that act thus: He shall still have the right, provided that when he gives the horse into the keeping of the pound-keeper, he deposits some statement in writing what harm he has done. Hardly a negro on the island could write. The second set of acts was of this kind : they said to the negro, "there is your shanty on my land; I will charge you ten pounds a year; there is that cocoanat tree your father planted, but I will charge you two shillings a month for that; pay me that rent, agree to work for me for ninepence a day for a year, with many other conditions, all in writing which the negro could n't read, and if you fail in one point, you forfeit all your wages, and may be imprisoned sixty days to hard fabor." The negro refused and ran. Two justices assemble and find him in the road without a home. If he owns no land, they label him as a va grant, and the next justice takes him in hand and sen tences him to six months' imprisonment to hard labor for not owning a house, unless he'll work for wha they please to call "usual" wages. When Mel ourne heard of this, Parliament undertook to supersede the whole legislature of Jamaica, and brought is an act for that purpose, which, but for the interference of Sir Robert Peel, would have passed; he gave them what he called locus penitentia, that is, a place for repentance; but they did not repent, for when I was in England, in 1841, I heard William Knibb say, with the applauding sanction of Buxton, Lushington and O'Connell :-

"Under the Petty Debt Act he is cast into jail for this rent-ejected from his cottage; then, under the Police Act, he is arrested on the highway as without home; then, under the Vagrant Act, se bor on the penal gang for sixty days. Of course, he avoids this by submitting to the white man's terms.

This is a perfect contravention of the intent and purpose of the Imperial Act of Emancipation. In plain English, IT IS SLAVERY."

"Lhe laws of Jamaica are again entangling these who have escaped from the transmels of slavery, ca-tailing the free course of their industry, and sub-jecting them to all the insults of oppression."

"I feel that it is one of the first duties of Her Majes-

"I feel that it is one of the first duties of Her slape ty's Government to set aside one and all of those law which have been framed, not as every law should be, for the administration of impartial justice, for the prote-tion of peace or the preservation of the great londs of human society, but to arm the employer with the means of exacting from the laborer his labor without just reward, and strengthen the strength of the streng and weaken the weakness of the weak."

I heard O'Connell say :-"Ordinances are vain as the idle wind so long as

Journances are vain as the idle wind so loss in Look at those law which the Legislature of Jamsica has passed. The blacks are free in point of law, yet you have a sime code actually enacted under that shorthy successor of Sir Lionel Smith. I like to call things by their right names. I say Sir Charles Metcalf is mischievous in his situation." He called those laws a "swindle," and demasted

the immediate interference of the Home Gover And such is the testimony of all the writers on the West Indies since 1834-even of those like Hove and Sewel, who are not Abolitionists-that all the trouble attending emancipation, and all the temporary loss to the colonies, came from the attempt of the planters to re-create by tricky legislation that slavery which England had abolished.

Now, that was seven years after England had given her blacks, technically free, into the keeping of slaveholders turned into landowners, which is just what Lincoin proposes to do. And remember, the power of Est and over Jamaica was absolute. The mother country had a veto on their laws, and could annihilate the whole Jamaica Government, if she pleased. But once let the States come back, and the Union cannot interfere in any of the local laws of such State. In such points, the power of the Union is just enough to render it ob noxious, without entitling it to either respect or obedience. We should stand and see the freedman, whose arm belped us to victory, robbed in our very sight of all its reality. Mr. Lincoln is a very prudent man people say. Well, prudence is a very worthy virtue, except when exercised at other people's expense (Laughter.) What I say is, the man who proposes h give up the fruits of this war for such a miserable sham as that, either does not understand his epoch, or is not equal to it. We have laid 250,000 of the noblest lives of the nation in the grave; we have mortgaged the industry of the future with the three thousand millions of dollars. It is my compensation money to the slave master, and I for one demand a government which ensures substantial, common sense protection for the men whom the nation has freed. (Cheers.) I am to be the fool of no legal terms, I am the slave of no law yer's precedents. This nation has robbed four mile ns of men and their ancestors for seventy years, and we might have been contented once to have clutched them homeless, poor and naked from the jaws of the lion; but we have ground that lion to powder, and to the slave belongs some portion of the land he has redeemed from nature. been a great favor in 1850, does not come up to toler able terms now. In 1773, our fathers might have been satisfied, at least conciliated, by a repeal of the test tax; but who dreams that, if after Bunker Hill and Yorktown, England had asked what would satisfy them, they would have answered, "Pay us back that

JAI ea-mx and six the negro, after joined, not tion in all his sovereignly bel constitutional insured him f smendment of State shall make state shall ma-secount of race This nation ow owes him land, debt which will not pay it. It and means. 1 brought by a g launched a little to reach Captaing over the syou know a brottom ! " " L nighty never b the bottom."
Those nine m like to work in go back to the p. They replied, " seen liberty ext division of rank wholly between and black, range

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you may go to will grow out o proclamation gi root nor branch If that is the le That proclamati it erippies our r eign interventie lavery and L anti-slavery. I ing half slave ist, and doe half white. He just to the black of three thousa of the Union is left to the free t cotton crop in t There is at Po plantations for chinery upon t old, young, man ter did not wan has superseded \$140,000 worth the South, and shame or defeat privileges-ofte eans, practica and jury rights fully considered into the Union

We cannot cont resentatives an gress. Indeed, give the negro troi, and to furr representatives ed, would be a u would be war in fend ourselves, I know I crit all his laurels a terrible trial. one. I have n non know no tr tricks. I want and save it from us. Next year, ing. In that te lows the road one word here, has one rival in

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whole bank cap ested, I want t tested and prov as some reason it will prove bet Chase held the a democrat, wit the power that the Union. In noblest woman, judged by her o and rude toil, sh the slave-hunte her babe back t ablimity of a n ment that Ohio would have les me that sublir ated by an Ohio well her rights, said to the sheri

put, every soldie fore the United Garner;" and dred and twenty responsibility— not take, the S back to bondage an abolitionist in gone up to Coli threw themselve manded the restatesman, who tion in its strug day—when four the indignant 8 tor, for that is li Mr. Secretary mights, give you no bondman liv rost until I see has brought to brideal, sense an will rost. will rest until t in other wo

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to his children.

rs, the power in his subject, the d found, in the on't bore." In pated the slaves rentices in the landholders to ements, as Mr. w long does that mes meant the y arrangement ves of Jamaica. ears !—(the ap-years they had ward Sugden, a itionist, allowed gainst Jamaica, ered and broke set the slaves ougham said, in ep a vigilant eye he Island Legis-oor law bill, poattempt to per-or to revive ununder an odious
." In 1839, one
is if in express ed a vagrant act, you how they care, for "tem-oln proposes to te emancipation, the pound, and damage. The thus: He shall en he gives the eeper, he depost harm he has ould write. The they said to the ny land; I will is that cocoanut charge you two at rent, agree to for a year, with which the negro point, you forfeit ed sixty days to ran. Two jus-road without a bel him as a va in hand and senent to hard labor work for what When Melrtook to super , and brought in for the interferpassed; he gave that is, a place ent, for when I liam Knibb say,

cast into jail for then, under the cay as without a sent to hard la-. Of course, he man's terms . . intent and pur-ation. In plain entangling those of slavery, cur-lustry, and sub-ession."
es of Her Majes-all of those laws law should be, for , for the protec-the great bonds ployer with the is labor without gth of the strong k."

on, Lushington,

wind so long as by the master... ture of Jamaica point of law, yet l under that un-h. I like to call Sir Charles Mel me Government. writers on the

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gland had given keeping of slave-is just what Linhe power of Engmother country l. But once let cannot interfere In such points, respect or obedi-freedman, whose our very sight of y worthy virtue, ople's expense.

who proposes to miserable sham epoch, or is not the noblest lives nortgaged the in-usand millions of ey to the slavenment which en-rotection for the cheers.) I am to slave of no law robbed four milr seventy years, naked from the und that lion to me portion of the What might have might have been repeal of the tea Bunker Hill and

at would satisfy

Pay us back that

to an and six per cent. interest." The nation owes the nation owes the negro, after such a war, in which he has nobly intel, not technical freedom, but substantial protecned, not tecunical precedent, out saustantial protecmoreignty between it and the negro, until both by giny pursues and by natural laws it has sared him full, real liberty. I would have an mendment of the Constitution providing that "no mendment or the committee providing that "no sale shall make any distinction among its citizens on make shall make any distinction among its citizens on monthly face and color." Indeed, more than that. This again owes to the negro not merely freedom; it This nation and, and it owes him education also. It is a over him tanu, and the second second the peoples if we do deltwhich with district longing of the negro. His issisce are better than our laws. He knows what indiacts are center tone out rave. He knows what jud seams. A meet time contratants once in Boston, brought by a gunboat. One of them had come one adred and twenty-five miles from the interior, and handred and twenty are in the land the interior, and handred a little dug-out, in which he rowed thirty miles to reach Captain Couthoy, and when the Captain, lookto reach captain country, and the captain, looking over the side of the gunboat, said, "Jack, don't intower the sine of the gundant, such, wack, don't botton !" "Lor, massa," said the negro, "God Al-nighty never brought me down here to send me to

the pottom.

Those nine men I questioned, and said, "You would Inose mine sich vould not you ?" "No, Massa; go back to the plantation." "Go back home for what?"
They replied, "For a piece of land." They had never a liberty except standing on the pedestal of an acre. They knew what land meant. They knew that the fividos of ranks at the South was not as some fancy tholly between white and black, but between the oliwhosey seemed the State, and the people, white and black, ranged below. The negro has never heard and place, ranged season. The degree has never neard of power except as associated with land, and the Conof power except as associated with land, and the Con-flucation Act is the jewel of Congressional policy. Launch as on national laws and guard us by the Conitation. Give me 200,000 farmers owning their own land, and give me 200,000 blacks with muskets in their right hands, officered by men of their own color, and 10gm mailus, omerica of men of their own color, and will grow out of those conditions. But Mr. Lincoln's nation gives me neither. It neither gives me ot nor branch, and I protest against it in advance. If that is the level of his mind, he cannot be trusted. That proclamation frees the slave, but ignores the nego; it disgraces the nation, and embroils our future, go; a magnitude of foreign intervention, it prolongs the struggle between Slavery and Liberty thirty years. Mr. Lincoln is anti-slavery. He does not believe in a nation "be ing half slave and half free "-but he is a Colonizaionist, and does not believe in a nation half black and half white. Hence prejudice prevents his being fully just to the black race. How shall we pay the interest of three thousand millions of dollars, except that half of the Union is re-constructed into industry? Give the negro on his own soil, contented, protected, left to the free use of his powers, and I will treble the cotton crop in two years. Why, this blundering govament does not know what democracy really means. There is at Port Royal a man who has bought eight plantations for eight thousand dollars, and put maery upon them costing \$20,000. Every negro, old, young, man, woman, sick or well, that Gen. Huner did not want, this man set to work, so the Yankee has superseded South Carolina, and to-day he has \$140,000 worth of cotton. Spread Port Royals over he South, and you will have peace in twelve months. The President's plan is not feasible, and ends in shance or defeat. Amnesty in Europe means the reballowed merely to live on the soil, without civil privileges-often without property. Amnesty here means, practically, re-instating the rebel in his ballot and jury rights; it is, therefore, to be much more carefally considered. If 10,000 voters bring back Tennessee into the Union, and hold all the power in their hands defiance of their ninety thousand fellow citizens, then the State is not Republican; neither could that be done but with the aid of our military force. Such a

State differs nothing from Tennessee, held by force

under one military Governor Johnson, except that it

is a sham, and embarrasses rather helps useful change.

If the ten thousand voters allow their ninety thousand

fellows to share their power with them, the policy of the State will, practically, be that of the Confederacy.

We cannot control it within the State, and their Representatives and Senators will checkmate us in Con

gress. Indeed, the only real effect of the plan is to ive the negro back into his master's legislative con-

trol, and to furnish Jefferson Davis with sixty or ninety representatives in Congress. A Union so reconstructed, would be a machine sure not to work. Such peace

would be war in disguise. With it, how shall we defend ourselves, or sustain our pocuniary credit?

I know I criticise Mr. Lincoln freely. I accord him rels; but the war is a terrible expense, it is a terrible trial. This nation ought never to have but one. I have no distrust while the war lasts. Cannon know no tricks. It is the politicians who know tricks. I want to keep the settlement among cannon and save it from Cabinets. And it is to be done by 18. Next year, we shall launch into President-making. In that terrible storm of personal ambition, who knows the road which leads to safety? Let me say one word here, and then I will close. Mr. Lincoln one rival in that future whose head just now is highest, and he belongs to the Treasury. (Applause.) Mr. Chase has great merits, he has done great service to the country, and I would like to have him stay where he is-(laughter)-if it were only in fairness to wait till the bank system prove a failure, if it were only to see fail that magnificent humbug of pouring the whole bank capital of the nation into a tub without a bottom. But if he must leave before his schemes are etted, I want the people to remind him that on two great occasions, the virtue of his anti-slavery life was tened and proved base metal, and demand that he give some reason to hope that if it is tested a third time, it will prove better. There was an hour when Mr. Clase held the State of Ohio in his right hand. Bred a democrat, with the States' rights doctrine, he knew the power that the State had a right to exert against the Union. In the custody of an Ohio sheriff was the noblest woman, almost, that ever trod this continent, julged by her opportunity. Bred a slave, in darkness ad rude toil, she had fled to Ohio, and when she saw he save-hunter descending on her cradle, she gave her babe back to God to save it from bondage. The splimity of a mother's love; the noblest historic mobent that Obio ever knew! Every man with a heart sould have leaped to shield her, and envied any offeer that sublime opportunity. She stood incarcerthed by an Ohio sheriff, and Governor Chase knew so ell her rights, that -I had it from his own lips-he and to the sheriff, "I will put, and I have the right to [M, every soldier of the State in front of that door beare the United States Marshal shall touch Margaret Gamer," and after saying it, he travelled one hunhed and twenty miles, and left the Sheriff to take the responsibility—a responsibility the Governor dared act take, the Sheriff would not take, and she went back to bondage. No South Carolina Governor, with m abolitionist in prison at Charleston, would have ever fine up to Columbia. Another time, when the States the themselves at the feet of the President, and de handed the removal of that man, your New York sanconan, whose life is a greater danger to this na-tion in its struggle than that of President Davis today when fourteen States asked his removal, between the indignant States and the (I will not call him traiby, for that is libellous, but I may call him) false pilot, Mr. Secretary Chase flung himself as a barrier, and ared him. If he looms up for our President, sit up lights, give yourselves no rest, watch till you are sure he hondman lives beneath the banner. I never will have sufficiently an lives beneath the banner of the large sufficient which we have character this fiery war has brought to the surface, and who show, ander that we have character that we have show for the large sufficient which we have sufficiently surface and who show, ander that we have sufficiently sufficiently sufficiently surface and who show and the surface sufficiently surface and who show and the surface lights, give yourselves no rest, watch till you are sure ha brought to the surface, and who show, under that edeal sense and courage as their qualities—I never all rest and they either lead the nation or watch for

give reat to his eyelids or eilence to his lips.

The Liberator.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JANUARY 1, 1864.

SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY hereby and ment to abolish and prohibit slavery, how they propose to regard the compromises, and they must tell pose to regard the compromises, and they must tell you, either as rubbish or as vital obligations. If the friends of liberty and emancipation universally, that it tended to it, but a cheering increase of both, in view of the wonderful change which has been wrought in public opinion, on the subject of slavery, since the rebellion broke out, adverse to the longer continuance of that " sum of all villanies."

The special object of this Anniversary has been, from year to year, to replenish the treasury of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, and thus enable it to keep in operation those potent instrumentalities whereby the public conscience has been aroused, the public understanding enlightened, and the public heart the following views are presented of our situation in oftened, in regard to the pitiable condition of the milions of bondmen and bondwomen whose deliverance, though manifestly approaching, yet remains to be con-summated. To that Society is the whole country most leeply indebted for its unfaltering, courageous and inflexible opposition to slavery as a system, and to the slave power as inimical to every element of Democracy and Christianity, through a long period of years; and it is now widely and magnanimously conceded that, if its solemn warnings, powerful appeals, and pro-phetic asseverations had been duly heeded, the present awful tragedy of rebellion and civil war might have been averted, and the abolition of slavery secured without violence or blood.

The American Anti-Slavery Society has recently elebrated, at Philadelphia, its THIRD DECADE, or thirtieth anniversary since its formation. The occasion was one of thrilling interest and stirring remembrance, -calling, in the retrospect of the past, for devout thanksgiving to the God of the oppressed for what had been effected by the power of His truth, and inspiring to new labors to secure the liberation of every slave in the land. While the great concourse of "the tried and true," who were present, were made jubilant by all the signs of the times, and while they expressed the confident hope that the monster Slavery had received its death-wound, through its treasonable revolt against the General Government, still, there was en-tire unanimity in the conviction that the Society should not think, for one moment, of retiring from the conflict until liberty is "proclaimed throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof."

Judge Conway, of Kansas, in a letter read on the occasion, regretting his absence, said-" I recognize in the American Anti-Slavery Society the primal agent in the regeneration of the American nation which is now in progress. The ultimate triumph of liberty is assured. Thank God, the future is ours! But this assurance should in no wise inspire us with indifference to the progress of events. We must not suppose that ur part of the work is finished. The American Anti-Slavery Society must not think of retiring from the field for many a long day yet. The future is ours; but we must

lo the work necessary to perfect the results."

since the American Anti-Savery Society was organ ized by representatives of ten States in 1833! Then a few unknown and nameless men were its apostles; now the most accomplished intellects in America are its champions. Then a few proscribed and hunted followers rallied around its banners; now it has laid its grasp upon the conscience of the nation, and millions rally around the folds of its flag. Then not a statesman in America accepted its doctrines or advocated its measures; now it controls more than twenty States, has a majority in both houses of Congress, and the Chief Magistrate of the republic decrees the emancipation of three millions of men. Then every free State was against it; now Western Virginia, Delaware, Maryland and Missouri pronounce for the emancipation of their bondmen. Then the public press covered it with ridicule and contempt; now the most powerful journals in America are its organs, contening its truths broadcast over all the land. Then constitution, freedom is utterly banished from it or constitution, freedom is utterly banished from it or press covered it with ridicule and contempt; now the most powerful journals in America are its organs, scattering its truths broadcast over all the land. Then the religious, benevolent and literary institutions of the land rebuked its doctrines and proscribed its advocates; now it shapes, moulds and fashions them at its pleasure. Then political organizations trampled disdainfully upon it; now it looks down in the pride of conscious power upon the wrecked political fragments that float at its feet. Then it was impotent and powers.

"Nevertheless, I say to you, and to the anti-slavery men of the United States, who have rejected the subtle policy of concession and compromise, who have repudiated the guilty delusion that the sin of slavery belongs to past generations and repentance to posterity, who have perpetually sounded into the ear of the nation the sin of oppression and the duty of repentance, go not home with the conviction that your work is done, but go home cheered by the assurance that the battle is going on for you; that you have stormed battery step. Pattery, exercised position after step the step and the pattery step. that the battle is going on for you; that you have stormed battery after battery, carried position after position; that you have only to be as true in the future as you have been in the past, to secure a permanent and enduring friumph. If the nation had accepted your doctrine of peaceful, legal, Christian action, this bloody war would never have come upon us. The crimes of two centuries have brought this terrible war upon us; but if this generation, upon whom God has laid His chastisements, will yet be true to liberty and humanity, peace will return again true to liberty and humanity, peace will return again to bless this land, now rent and torn by civil strife. Then we shall heal the wounds of war, enlighten the dark intellect of the emancipated bondmen, and mak our country the model Republic to which the Christian world shall turn with respect and admiration."

When such are the convictions and assurances of distinguished public men, not connected with the American Anti-Slavery Society, in regard to the value and magnitude of the work it has accomplished, and the further need and importance of the Society in perfeeting what remains to be done, surely it is no time to think of disbanding, or of cherishing the pleasing illusion that the victory is won, and therefore we may safely trust to events to shape our national destiny.

Ever since the rebellion broke out, this Society has been thoroughly in earnest in sustaining the Government, and all those measures of emancipation which President Lincoln and Congress have deemed it necessary to adopt to suppress the rebellion, and to give unity and stability to republican ideas, institutions and interests, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the Lakes to the Gulf.

The Managers of the Subscription Anniversa-RY, therefore, feel that they may properly call upon all loyal men and women as well as upon all those who "reject with indignation the wild and guilty phantasy that man can hold property in man," in every part of the land, to contribute liberally to its funds on this oc casion, and, as far as practicable, to be present at its amemoration at the place and time designated. Where personal attendance is impracticable or incon venient, donations may be sent to either of the undersigned, or to William I. Bowditch, Esq., 18 Railroad Exchange. These will be gratefully received, duly

acknowledged, and faithfully expended. Sarah H. Sonthwick, Caroline E. Putnam, Mary Willey, Abbey H. Stephenson, Sarah J. Nowell, Elizabeth V.n. Arnum, Eliza Anthorn. welled, some and courage as their qualities—I never will rest and they either lead the nation or watch for it—is attent words, until Butler or Fremont mans the flux. (Great applause.) Until such men man the flux, or hold the helm, no man with justice to himself, in his children, to the negro and to the Union, can the rest to his eyelids or eilence to his lips.

Heles E. Garrison, Man Save Greene, Saruk Blake Shaw, Caroline E. Thayer, Mattie Griffith, Mary Jackson, Ecclina A. Smith, Caroline M. Saverance, Elizabeth Gay, Ann Rebecca Bramhall, Eliza Apthorp,
Sarah Cowing,
Abby Kelley Foster,
Mary E. Stearns,
Mary Elizabeth Sargent,
Sarah C. Alkinson,
Abby Francis,
Georgina Otis,
Katherine Earle Farmum. COWARDS AND SLAVES.

The effort now making to amend the Constitution proceeds from motives which are to be respected, but indicates how far the people of the North have degenerated from the independence of their sires. Our THIRTIETH SUBSCRIPTION-ANNIVERSARY.

King George is the Constitution, which we lack the courage to confront. Ask those who favor the amendment of the THIRTIETH NATIONAL ANTIment to abolish and prohibit slavery, how they prowill be held, as hitherto, in Music Hall, Boston, on of slavery, to effect a partial revision of the Constitu tion, which is hereafter to be thoroughly remodelled ! fidently anticipate not only the same liberal patronage and thronged attendance that have hitherto been expronounce the compromises deceased three years ago.

And as these can be valid, if valid at all, only for the loyal slaveholders of the Border States, it follows that we are slaves at this hour to the rule of less than sixty thousand men,—a handful which, concentrated up-on the battle-field, or within a fortified city like Charleston, we should sweep out of existence without remorse, in order to recover for the national authority

a few acres of rebellious soil.

For the sake of such loyal and well-meaning minds as are still bound by the fetters of the Constitution,

regard to that instrument, and of the powers which we may employ in behalf of universal emancipation. I. "The Union as it was" having perished at the hands of slavery, a party to the contract of '87, the Constitution, which was but the record of that con tract, perished at the same time; and to-day we are either sailing without a written charter, or for convenience we retain as many of the old forms as are subservient to our interests. In this view of the posture of affairs, there is nothing in the Constitution but what we choose to keep or to place there; and it is either no obstacle to our action against slavery, or we are morally culpable for making it so.

II. There used to be some who contended that slavery found no foothold in the Constitution, because the word slave was nowhere expressed; and others who admitted the design of the framers to give security to the system, in the clauses familiarly known as the compromises, but who claimed a right to avail themselves of the letter of the text in opposition to its spirit, and to turn the decorous language adopted through shame to the defeat of the odious purpose which it concealed. Those who still entertain these opinions, have no excuse for opposition to a general pation act on the part of Congress.

III. The rebellion of slavery, which was designed to destroy every vestige of the Constitution, may be considered simply to have purged it of all complicity with the system. In that case, we have a charter amended by Jefferson Davis & Co., who withdrew from the protection it afforded to slavery, in order to defend the sum of all villanies with cannon and bay onet. Then we are not only empowered to proceed against slavery, but to fail to do so is to disregard the plainest injunctions of the Constitution, viz. (among others) the clause which directs the United States to guarantee each State a Republican form of governent. Inaction, as well as action in support of slave

ry, becomes unconstitutional.

1V. Grant, however, that the compromises remain in full force for that portion slavery of which has not rebelled. Then,

1. We are no more obliged to respect them than we do the work necessary to perfect the results."

On the same occasion, the Hon. Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, in the course of an eloquent speech, applying to the seceded States in process of return to the Union, and which, by the same logic, he ought to "By years, by epochs alone, can we measure the progressive advancement of a movement so grand and comprehensive as the anti-slavery movement in America. What mighty changes have been wrought in the condition of the anti-slavery cause in the United States since the American Anti-Slavery Society was organized by representatives of ten States in 1883! Them a few unknown and nameless men were its apostless. gress to provide for the general welfare, &c., &c. If

conscious power upon the wrecked political fragments that float at its feet. Then it was impotent and powerless; now it holds public men and political organizations in the hollow of its hand. Then the public voice sneered at and defied it; now it is master of America, and has only to be true to itself to bury slavery so deep that the hand of no returning despotism can reach it.

"Nevertheless, I say to you, and to the anti-slavery men of the United States, who have rejected the mortality and that he does not mean to regiment his remainding us, that the War Power is constitutional, that it is an invaluable instru-

might redeem our character from the imputation of cowardice and servility, if we did but acknowledge what the election of Abraham Lincoln proves to have been a fact, that the rebellion of the South was mere ly a counter to the revolution at the North in oppos tion to slavery .- w. r. G.

We trust our readers will feel fully compensated for the omission this week of the continued re port of the Decade Meeting, by the speech of Mr. Phillips which takes its place. It is in vain for the Albany Journal to seek to classify Mr. Phillips and the Abolitionists together with the Copperheads. The former are the mortal adversaries of the latter, as is proved by the admission of the Journal, that though their criticisms have a similar direction, the motives which prompted them are as antagonistic as slavery and freedom.

We begin with this number, the Thirty-fourth rolume of the Liberator, and, in wishing our readers one and all a Happy New Year, take this opportunity to thank them for that generous support, during the twelvemonth just elapsed, by which we have been enabled to sustain this sheet, and to prosecute yet longer the cause of universal emancipation. May the present year witness the consummation of our labors

The Emancipation Proclamation of January 1st, 1863, will be celebrated this day by the colored citizens of Boston, in the Tremont Temple, foreno afternoon and evening. Eloquent and able speakers have been invited to address the meetings, of whom many will doubtless avail themselves of the privilege

RADICAL UNION LEAGUES. We see it stated that Union Leagues, pledged to the total eradication of ne-gro slavery in the United States, are multiplying throughout Massachusetts, and are receiving large a cessions of members. In the opinion of well-informed persons, similar Union Leagues in the Northern States are already atrong enough to carry the next

The Atlantic Monthly, Continental, and Harper's Monthly for the present month have been received, and will be noticed hereafter. LETTER FROM GEORGE THOMPSON, ESQ.

London, Dec. 8, 1863.

Dear Garrison—The intelligence brought by the two last mails, of the victory gained by Gen. Grant over the rebel army at Chattanoga, has filled the friends of the North with thankfulness and joy. We trust a similar victory has been gained by Meade over Lee in Virginia. The late news has caused the Confederate Cotton Lean to decline to thirty-six, and it is still going down.

The successor of the apostate and profligate, Dr. Mackay, is writing to the Times from New York, in a very different strain from that in which former letters were penned. We are now told that the abolition movement is carrying all before it;—that the war, whatever its mission might have been at the outset, when the different strain of the united States to the constitution and laws of the United States, made in pursuance thereof, shall be the supreme law of the land, and Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution and laws of said State to the contrary, notwith-standing; and whences, it has been also share not treated to supreme the land, and supported by schooling. LONDON, Dec. 8, 1863.

movement is carrying all before it;—that the war, whatever its mission might have been at the outset, has now no other object than the abolition of slavery;—that the continuation of the war for another year or two will lead most infallibly, not only to the abolition of slavery, but to the extension of suffrage to the whole colored race;—that alavery is giving way before the iron tread of war;—that the North is beginning to feel that the quickest and surest way to compound with the rebellion is to trample it utterly, and to crush it the rebellion is to trample it utterly, and to crush it is said State to the contrary, notwing standing; and Whereas, it has been demonstrated by rebellion, that SLAVERY IS ABSOLUTELY INCOMPATIBLE WITH UNION, PEACE AND THE GENERAL WELFARE for which Congress are to provide, thereafter be it enacted, &c., &c.

The first clause releases all slaves in all of the States and Territories of the United States, and clothes them with the immunities of free citizens. Section 2d makes their reënslavement a crime, punishable by fine and imprisonment. feel that the quickest and surest way to compound with the rebellion is to trample it utterly, and to crush it and slavery—cause and effect—once and forever; that, to all intents and purposes, slavery has ceased to be in all the Border States, and is at its last gasp in all be in all the Border States, and is at its last gasp in all the invaded regions;—that, since the outbreak of the war, the slaves in those territories into which the Northerners have extended their conquests may be looked upon as visitedly lost a their areas. coked upon as virtually lost to their owners;-that

Northerners have extended their conquests may be looked upon as vitually lost to their owners;—that six hundred thousand have already been actually emancipated;—that it is impossible to deny that the abolitionists have gained immense ground since the late elections;—that every month, every day, that the abolitionists have gained immense ground since the late elections;—that every month, every day, that the war continues, tolis the death. knell of the "Peculiar Institution" of the South. And much more to the same effect. This, in the columns of the Times, is "a sign of the times" which tends to convince us that the end is drawing near.

I was farvored with an invitation to the Thanksgiving Dinner which took place in London, on the 26th unition. There was a goodly gathering of loyal citizens of the United States. The banquet was of the most approved description, and was graced by the presence of ladies, whose numbers were, I think, equal to those of the gentlemen. The chair was well filled by the Hon. Robert J. Walker, of Mississippi, late Secretary of the Treasury, Commissioner to China, Governor of Kanasa, &c. &c. The Vice Presidents were the Hon. Freeman H. Morse, the American Consultate of arrangements, I had a seat next to the President's Proclamation. This over, Mr. Walker called upon a clergyman present to offer up thanks to do the day, and was appointed to speak to the toast—"The day—devoted to thanking God for our victories in the cause of Liberty and Union."

The proceedings were prefaced by the reading of the content. This over, Mr. Walker called upon a clergyman present to offer up thanks to develop on the company, having by his side, which had shop the condany of the company, having by his side, which had been bed in bondage by Americans; who had snapped those bonds assunder, and escention of all persons named in the President's approaching the footstool of American's mouthpiece when approaching the footstool of American's mouthpiece when approaching the footstool of American's mouthpiece when approa it! What a glorious future for the descendants of a wronged and outlawed race did it unfold! Let our iend Remond, and every one else connected with that race, be encouraged. Who, a few years ago, would have oretold that, on the 26th of Nov., 1863, the Presdent of a meeting of Americans of the highest socialgrade would stand between the American ambassador

grade would stand between the American ambassador and a fugitive slave, and, in the name of the assembly, call upon the once despised and hated runaway to officiate for them in the offering of their petitions before the Throne of Grace?

I send you a placard which is now upon the wall of London, announcing a lecture from me on the 14th instant—subject—The Downfall of King Cotton and the Triumph of Free Labor—in which it will be shown how Cotton came to be king; how he extended his dominions; who were his subjects, and how he ruled them; how he adopted slavery as the corner-stone of his new edifice; how he went to war with those who would not bow to his yoke; and how, while he was great and that in spite of the reverses which have late-

deserves the warm granted of the struggle for their tion alluded to.

Mr. Miles said there would be no misunderstanding. lom of the slave. Since his return from America, we years ago, Mr. Sinclair has been incessantly occupied, and most laboriously too, in spreading informations, went the same way. dom of the slave. Since his return from America. two years ago, Mr. Sinclair has been incessantly occution, and rekindling the dormant Anti-Slavery feeling of this country. He has, during the past year, acted ost efficiently as the Secretary of the Manchester Union and Emancipation Society. I bear my cheerful testimony to the value of his services, and the esteem in which he is held by all who have been his associates. Give him, for his works' sake, a cordial greeting. A pamphlet which he brought out more than a year and which was near here to be a very and which wa than a year ago, and which you may have seen, has than a year ago, and which you may have seen, has 3; Mrs. Samuel Hall, Jr., 25; Rice, Kendall & Co., 50; proved a most timely publication, and has supplied A Friend, 1; Samuel May, 100 A Friend, 1; Tuttle, imple materials for many speeches and lectures which | Gaffield & Co. \$25; Mrs. Fairbanks, 3; Issac W. Danhave since been delivered.

MANCHESTER, Dec. 11th. I came down here yesterday, and in the evening ttend a farewell soirce to our friend, Mr. Sinclair. dry Friends, for tobacco, 12; C. E. Hodges, 5. He has many warm friends here, who part with him

with much regret.

I go from here to Edinburgh on a short visit, and from thence to Glasgow, and return to London by way of Carlisle and Manchester.

This day, four weeks, I hope to be in Liverpo again, to take ship the third time to Boston. I shall only be going where my heart already is. Farewell, dear Garrison! May we soon, together

see the consummation of our hopes, and the reward of our toils, in the freedom of the slave, and the regenration of your country! Now and forevermore, yours, steadfastly, GEO. THOMPSON.

Mr. Thompson expects to be able to leave Liverpool in the Canard Steamer for Boston on the 9th of January, and, consequently, to arrive about

The freedmen of the Department of the South at Port Royal have made arrangements for a grand celebration of the anniversary of freedom's birthday in the South, January 1. Wendell Phillips and Fred. Douglass are invited to attend.

The following is a full text of the preamble and

BUREAU OF EMANCIPATION.

A BILL TO ESTABLISH A BUREAU OF EMANCIPATIO

PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S PROCLAMATION IN THE REBEL CONGRESS.

In the proceedings of the Rebel Congress, Mr. Foote resented the following preamble and resolution:

steadfast, beyond even the probability of a future danger; and that in spite of the reverses which have laterated, and a new reign inaugurated, under which free men, free labor, free soil, and free speech will be ever-more established. This is a subject on which Ishould like to have something to say, on some suitable opportunity, when I reach the country where King Cotton once wielded universal sovereignty.

For the last three years, I have done what I could to serve your country. My labor has been one of love as well as duty. I have tried to look at American affairs from the stand-point of an American; to do as I would have done if I had been an American citizen.

affairs from the stand-point of an American; to do as I would have done if I had been an American citizen. In all your afflictions, I have been afflicted, and have not been ashamed to drink the cup prepared for you. My knowledge of your country has been of great use to me, and has enabled me to indoctrinate men of far greater influence than myself.

I must not omit to mention the gentleman who will kindly take charge of this letter. That gentleman is Mr. Peter Sinclair. Mr. Sinclair has been a resident in the United States, where he has travelled extensively, and has a numerous acquaintance. He well deserves the warm gratitude of those who have been lately called to take part in a bloody struggle for their

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

I have received, in aid of the Massachusetts Colored Volunteers, not heretofore acknowledged, the following sums, viz :—From Edward L. Pierce, \$5; Geo. S. Winslow, 20; Mrs. O. W. Holmes, 10; A Friend, 1; Dr. S. T. Birmingforth, 10 ; Charles Richardson, 5 ; Female Anti-Slavery Friends of Stoneham, by Lydia O. Lefavre, 37.60; Friend, 5; Mrs. Fields, 4; G. Higginson, 30; Mrs. Jarvis, 1; Hon. James Savage, 50; C. H. Dalton, 25; sun-

Also, a large case of supplies from the Ladies of Green-wood, South Reading, by hand of Mrs. Dr. Brown. Our thanks are due the Adams' Express Co. for the free carriage of a large case to the 55th Regi

J. H. STEPHENSON Treasurer for the Committee. 12 Arch street, Dec. 28, 1863.

COLLECTIONS. By E. H. HETWOOD. East Princeton, \$5 30; Cummington, 20; Worthington 59c; Greenfield, 1.

BY PARKER PILLSBURY. Essex Co. Society, Danvers, \$6 90; Leominster, I 22; Mrs. Blanchard, do., 35c; Princeton, I 27; Worcester Co. South Division, Milford, 2068; Florence, 10; Leeds, 255; Cammington, 13 40; Hopedale, 8; Weymouth, II; Neponest, 3.

DIED-In Washington, N. H., Dec. 21, Mr. WILLIAM

OLD COLONY ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY .- A Special Meeting of the Old Colony Anti-Slavery Society will be held at PLYMOUTH, on FRIDAY, January 1st, 1864, which all friends of the Society and all friends of

Preedom and of the Country are requested to attend.

WESDELL PHILLIPS, EDNUND QUINCY, PARKER PILLS-SURY, SAMUEL MAY, Jr., and other advocates of Complete

Emaneipation, are expected to be present.

The meetings will be held in Davis's Hall, at 2 o'clock,
P. M., and at 7 o'clock in the evening.

For the Old Colony Anti-Slavery Society,

BOURNE SPOONER, President. SANUEL DYER, Secretary.

UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.—NEW HAMP-SHIRE CAMPAIGN .- STEPHEN S. FOSTER will lecture in New Hampshire as follows :-

Warner, Bradford, Friday, Jan. 1. Sat. and Sun. " 2-3. Monday, 4 4. Tuesday, 5. Satton. New London, Also as above ; A. T. Foss and W. A. Jackson, (Jeff. Also as above; A. A. P. Davis's coachman,) will lecture in Paday. Jan. Saturday and Sun., " 2 and 3. Monday, a Tuesday, a Wednesday, Wilmot Flat, Danbury,

And in that vicinity, until Tuesday, " CAPE COD. There will be a Convention in Ex-CHANGE HALL, at Harwich, on Sunday, Jan. 3, commencing at 10 o'clock, and continuing through the day and evening. E. H. Heywood and Panker Pillsbury are engaged a a portion of the speakers. The people of the Cape never need urging to attend this annual meeting.

Thursday,

Springfield,

Croyden,

NOTICE. The Convention at Harwich (Exchange Hall) will open on Saturday evening, Jan. 2d, with an address from E. H. Heywood; to continue over the following Sunday, as per notice of last week.

WM. WELLS BROWN will speak at Quiney, on day next, Jan. 3, afternoon and evening.

NATIONAL INVALID SOLDIERS' HOME. JOHN OUINCY ADAMS FARM, Weston, Mass.

LIEUT. GEO. W. CALEFF,

The popular Lecturer, is prepared to take engagements of deliver the Narrative of his Sufferings for upwards of THIRTEEN MONTHS IN THE LIBBY PRISON and other Southern Dungeons, together with some interesting particulars of the sufferings of our Union Soldiers in the hands of the Rebels, for the benefit of the above Charitable Institution. All communications to be addressed to W. MAZZONI, 19 Charlestown street, Boston.

SAMUEL POOR, JR., Vice President.

A School Magazine Free!

CLARK'S SCHOOL VISITOR-Vol. VIII.

THE Publisher of this favorite Monthly, in order to reach all schools, will send the Visiron one year gratis to one person (who will act as agent,) at any post-office in the United States. This is an amparalleled offer.

Address, with five contended, for particulars,

J. W. DAUGHADAY, Publisher,
Dec. 25. 1308 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia " Lively, Interesting, Thoughtful, and Candid."

RUTH'S SACRIFICE:

LIFE ON THE RAPPAHANNOCK. BY MRS. EMILY C. PEARSON.

THE critics ask, How is it that the author of this work so perfectly satisfies men of all creeds and parties with her revelations of Slavery, and so lucidly solvies grave problems of the times connected with the rebellion? The answer is plain, viz: by being herself a resident of the South, and admitted behind the scenes, the great curtains of which are being drawn by the stern hand of War.

STORY OF THE ORIGIN OF THE WORK. STORY OF THE ORIGIN OF THE WORK.

A young lady, having connections at the South, and acquainted in several slave States, was a guest in one of the old wealthy families in Eastern Virginia. At the princely board, distinguished men of our own and other countries discussed the grand questions which now shake our national edifice, while characteristic scenes in which rich-whites, poor-whites, and slaves figured, passed in vivid panorama before her. She had no theory on the "institution" of the South, but absorbed in what she saw and heard, noted down incidents and portraitures for her own reference. The material grew on her hands. Her letters North appearing in a leading public journal, attracted attention throughout the land—and very naturally: for while others wrote on that subject from imagination, she from observation; others from theory, she from facts; others still from sectional or political motives, she amid the charmed circle of personal friends.

From the Newburyport Herald.

From the Newburyport Herald.

An honest and truthful representation of the evils of slavery, in which the author has, with the greatest fidelity, introduced just such characters, scenes and incidents as came within the range of her own observation. It will be read and prized by every one who has any interest in the subject treated. From the New York Evangelist.

The plain, honest truth is kindly told, and a picture presented in which slavery appears in those lights and shades in which every one's intelligence assures him must exist. There is one phase of Southern life which even Uncle Tom's Cabin does not so vividly present, the bearing of slavery upon the poor white population. From the Cambridge Chronicle

From first to last, the render is made to feel that he is o mere listener to a narrative, but an actual observer of

Painted by an eye-witness, the scenes are life-like and painfully interesting, imparting a much better idea of the enormity of the slave-traffic than can be found in Uncle Tom.

IT IS A BOOK FOR ALL. It is absorbing as a story; its facts and logic shed light on matters of national interest; and although descending to the lowest stratum of Southern society, not an oath or aught offensive to the purest taste disfigures its pages, and being pervaded by an elevated religious sentiment, it is admirably adapted to the family circle and Sunday School, and just now will be peculiarly suitable for a New Year's present. Price \$1. Agents wented.

O. H. PEARSON,

GAS FIXTURES.

THE undersigned begs leave to inform his friends and the public, that (owing to ill health) he has been obliged to leave his situation at Mesers. H. B. Stanwood & Co's, now Mesers. Shrove, Stanwood & Co's, where he has been employed for the last fourteen years, the work being too heavy for his physical strength, and is now prepared to do all manner of

JOBBING ON GAS FIXTURES, In the most careful manner. New Fixtures furnished and put up, old Fixtures and Glass Drops cleaned, leaks stopped, Gas Fixtures done over, and Gas Glasse of all kinds furnished at short notice. Also, Gas Burners of all the approved kinds.

Particular attention given to Liohting up for Partics.

Particular attention given to Lighting up for Partice.
Shop under the Marlboro' Hotel. Orders may be left at
Mesers. Hall & Stowell's Provision Store, 132 Charles street,
Soston.
NELSON L. PERKINS. osten.
Refers to Shreve, Stanwood & Co.

IMPROVEMENT IN Champooing and Hair Dyeing, "WITHOUT SMUTTING."

MADAME CARTEAUX BANNISTER WOULD inform the public that she has removed from 223 Washington Street, to

No. 31 WINTER STREET,

where she will attend to all diseases of the Hair.

She is sure to care in nine cases out of ten, as she has for many years made the hair her study, and is sure there are none to excel her in producing a new growth of hair. Her Restorative differs from that of any one slee, being made from the roots and herbs of the forest.

She Champoos with a bark which does not grow in this country, and which is highly beneficial to the hair before using the Restorative, and will prevent the hair from turning grey.

using the heads were and while prevent the mair from turning grey.

She also has another for restoring grey hair to its natu-ral color in nearly all cases. She is not afraid to speak of the Pestoratives in any part of the world, as they are used in every city in the country. They are also packed for her customers to take to Europe with them, enough to last two, or three years, as they often say they can get nothing abroad like them.

MADANE CARTEAUX BANNISTER.

Poetry.

WRITTEN FOR THE PAIR IN BEHALF OF THE SANITARY CON-Held in Boston, Dec. 14, 1863.

[The following fine poem was written by Mrs. C. A. Mason of Fitchburg; and sent to the Rev. William P. Tilden, as a contribution to the Sanitary Fair. It has been beautifully printed in quarto form on tinted paper, in large,

"COME TO THE RESCUE!" The cry went forth Through the length and breadth of the loyal North; For the gun that startled Sumter heard, Wakened the land with its fiery word ! The farmer paused, with his work half done, And snatched from the nail his rusty gun; And the swart mechanic wiped his brow, Shouting, "There's work for my strong arm now!" And the parson doffed his gown and sa "Bring me my right-good award instead"; And buckled his belt on with the rest; And each and all to the rescue went, As unto a royal Tournament; For the loyal blood of a nation stirred To the gun that startled Sumter heard !

"Come to the rescue !" Again that cry, Burdening the breeze as it passes by : "Come to the rescue! Our brave men fall, Wounded and slain by the foeman's ball."

Lying in hospitals sick and faint, Dying in strange and desolate places, Faint for a drink from the dear old well, Longing to taste of the fruit that fell All the autumn, so ripe and sweet, Over the orchard-wall into the street, Murmuring, "Oh, that one would come With even the scanty crumbs of home, The crumbs from my father's board that fell, To cheer, and hearten, and make me well !

Who shall answer this mournful ery? Wno shall answer it? You and I! Ours are the hands that to them shall bring The healing draught from the dear old spring, And the colden fruit that all the Fall Ripened and swung on the garden wall; We on their gaping wounds will pour Our oil, and our wine shall glad them more Than ever a vintage cheered before.

Come, then, come to the Soldiers' Fair ! Little children and stern-browed men. Gentle woman and maiden gay Gathered from peaceful homes away, Lend us your pitying aid to-day! Help us to answer with open hand netp us to answer with open hand The cry deep-surging through the land: Remembering how the dear Lord spoke, Who once to famishing thousands broke The scanty loaves till they all were fed— " Hath done it unto Me instead : Rich and large shall your guerdon be; On, PRIENDS, YE HAVE DONE IT UNTO ME !"

THE PLANTING OF THE APPLE-TREE.

BY H. W. LONGFELLOW.

Come, let us plant the apple-tree ! Cleave the tough greensward with the spade; Wide let its hollow bed be made; There gently lay the roots, and there Sift the dark mould with kindly eare, And press it o'er them tenderly, As, round the sleeping infant's feet, We softly fold the cradle-sheet: So plant we the apple-tree.

What plant we in the apple-tree? Shall lengthen into leafy sprays; Boughs, where the thrush with crimson breast Shall haunt, and sing, and hide her nest. We plant upon the sunny lea A shadow for the noontide hour, shelter from the summer shower,

When we plant the apple-tree. What plant we in the apple-tree? Sweets for a hundred flowery springs, To load the May-wind's restless wings, When, from the orchard-row, he pour orld of blossoms for the bee : Flowers for the sick girl's silent room ;

For the glad infant sprigs of bloom, We plant with the apple-tree. What plant we in the apple-tree? Fruits that shall swell in sunny June. And redden in the August noon, And drop, as gentle airs come by That fan the blue September sky;

While children, wild with noisy glee, Shall scent their fragrance as they pass, At the foot of the apple-tree.

And when above this apple-tree The winter stars are quivering bright, And winds go howling through the night, Girls, whose young eyes o'erflow with mirth, Shall peel its fruit by cottage hearth, And guests in prouder homes shall see,

Heaped with the orange and the grape, As fair as they in tint and shape. The fruit of the apple-tree. The fruitage of this apple-tree

Winds and our flag of stripe and star Where men shall wonder at the view. And ask in what fair groves they grew And they who roam beyond the sea Shall look, and think of childhood's day, And long hours passed in summer play In the shade of the apple-tree

Each year shall give this apple-tree A broader flush of reseate bloom, A deeper mase of verdurous glo And loosen, when the frost-clouds lower, The years shall come and pass, but we The summer's songs, the autumn's sigh, In the boughs of the apple-tree.

And time shall waste this apple-tree. Oh, when its aged branches throw Thin shadows on the sward below. Shall fraud and force and iron will Oppress the weak and helpless still? What shall the tasks of mercy be, Of those who live when length of years Is wasting this apple-tree

"Who planted this old apple-tree?" The children of that distant day Thus to some aged man shall say; And, gazing on its mossy stem, The gray-haired man shall answer them " A poet of the land was he, Born in the rude, but good old times ;

'T is said he made some quaint old rhymes On planting the apple-tree."

Atlantic Monthly for January.

RISEN !

O spirit, freed from eart Rejoice! thy work is done! The weary world's beneath thy f Ascend! thou art not now The living God hath touched thy lips

The Liberator.

PLANTATION PICTURES.

BY MRS. EMILY C. PEARSON, Author of "Cousin Frank's Household." CHAPTER XIII

A NIGHT OF TERROR. Dilly busied herself playing "bo-peep" with her tears from flowing too freely. Brave little heart! she oft smiled through them, and brushed them away. give the warnin'?"

because he was left behind, he was poor company. He sat in the corner by the fire-place, with drooping ears of sorrow, and occasionally as he ruminated on bout de ghosts. You know de good book say, de the subject, a slight frown of indignation seemed to beast dat Balaam rid saw de angel fust, an' dey can't

rest on his countenance.

"Why, dovey, darlin', you are asleep," softly said
Dilly, as with a gently swaying motion she put her

"Now dere's de time when de hosses act so

dinner on the table-Hinns, always thoughtful, hav-

ing cooked it for her previously.
"I'm gwine to play company to dinner, Bruno, and frown, I shan't let you go to walk with me, or if I do, you won't catch me loading your neck with flowers-

let's set down. Here's a chair for you. Won't come?
gwine to sit there in the corner? Well, then, here's a plate of chicken—the lion's share ; can't you smile for that, Bruno? sitting up there in the corner grave as a judge! There, you do really smile, your eye is bright and full, and you're wagging your tail. Thought

"Isn't that good, Bruno ?" said she, as he gulped canine fashion. "I know 'tis. You're eating as if you enjoyed it. I thought you'd brighten up. Bruno, you know you're all the company I've got when Dove is asleep, and I want you to be as agreeable as you can." But Bruno swallowed down the chicken, and looked up for more.

"I'm glad you 've got a good appetite. Here, Bruno, here's a nice slice of bread and butter, and here's dat's de way to see a ghost,' praps you know!

a piece of cake. tell, but you'll be the brave watch and look out, won't you? And you won't let any wicked robbers come an' tote Dove an' me off, will you? You shall have all the bloody meat you want for tea, to make you strong, 'cause Dove and I want to sleep sound, and you must take good care of us." Then, as she like folks, if you was good?"

Dove awoke just the right time, when the child-

mother had cleared away, and what with prattling to it, and Bruno, the afternoon passed, and night came. Night the little Dilly dreaded like any other timorous child. At bed-time she had family prayers—good lit-tle Christian; then going to bed with Dove in her arms, sweetly slept till morning. Dilly opened her eyes, and found Dove gazing in her face with quiet

And, darling Dove, God's acp us, allow and your little bright eyes are peeping for mine to open. You precious Dove! here's fifty kisses! Dovey, I'm gwine to tend you awhile, an' then I must be the ghosts won't trouble me no more; and I started be the ghosts won't trouble me no more; and I started get up an' get my breakfast "-and she went on carolling, prattling, and chirping to the babe at her breast,

day also, as she occasionally ran out to chat with Bru-no, and stroke his lion-like head. "Lonely, is you, tremble, tremble, an' shyed, but dey did n't stop, nor

Dilly, tender, sympathetic Dilly, would n't hurt the feelings of a dog, especially one she loved as she did jest as de fog goes off in de mornin'; it's dar one minshe became persuaded that it would be a good plan to send him to Hinna; at least, she thought it would be for his happiness. "Poor fellow! he has n't been word with no means of self-defence. And there with sure. I have n't the heart to keep him. I'll give him a good hearty dinner, and fit him off."

Bruno! " called out Dilly, as he finished his meal of fresh meat and bread and butter, "good fellow! good fellow! Bruno, go to Hinna-go to Hinna. Watch Hinna!" The dog's whole expression changed, and with full eye looking up in her face, as if he

"Do you really mean so?"

more earnestly said Dilly. And the dog, licking her hand and giving her a look almost human in its intel- man; hands, feet, eyes, bodily contortions, grimace ligence, started slowly off. Dilly went into the house, and watched him from the window. Scarcely was he lost to view when she began to regret that she had strong current of his convictions, as the freshet take sent him; for after the excitement of getting him off, along a stray leaf. a sense of her loneliness came over her. And by the Dilly watched old Job till he got to his boat, the middle of the afternoon she had fastened the doors, quickly shut and fastened the door. She was more and drawing her little rocking chair near the fire, than ever in a frightened mood, which was not sootl tried to go on with her mat. She could not braid, ed as twilight fell, and evening came on. The wir however, she was too restless. Then Dove awoke, dow looked out upon the river, and was furnishe and absolutely cried, for a wonder. Dilly was afraid with an oaken shutter, that Dilly, by way of precau whispered, "hush-a-by baby-hush-a-by baby," too safe to leave it unclosed, that she might see the ligh

tle Dilly wished Hinna was there! A long time pass- gave no tokens of neighborly residence. It was in ed before she had stilled dove by heating her feet deed a lonely spot that the cottage occupied, and, sav and nursing her, when there was a knock at the door, that one light, so far away as scarcely to be distir Dilly kept still, and then another knock. "It's on'y guished, there was nothing but blank, dreary desolu Job! don't be afeered of me! I reckoned you'd be lonely like," added he, as Dilly let him in, "an' Hinna told me to keep a look-out for you. I'll bring clouds, the sighing of the wind through the branches you a pail of water from the spring, an' split up some

just when they will affect them most disastrously.

friend, while Job was as glad of an opportunity to sit citement and fear. awhile by the comfortable fire, and chat. He was Poor heart! while cowering before the phantom ten more. His darkened mind was filled with wild super- should dread, so much as vile wretches that dishono stitions which he strangely loved to repeat.

thought he was ter hum ?"

to die. I knowed something's gwine ter happen when one night jest 'fore I got inter bed, massa William's dog came, an' sat right under de winder, an' howl, howl tree times; an' little Susy she fell sick an' died, an' I knew 't would be so when dat ur dog howl!"

Diply sprang to her test, and quickly drew the shutter and fastened it. The movement was so sudden that the intrader, taken by surprise, had no time to prevent it, and in a moment Dilly listening breathlessly, heard him move off: then there was the hum of voices in consultation, then by the sound she heard them

"Sorry to hear dat! somethin's gwine to happen

wid ye-'pend 'pon it; 'praps de baby dare's gwine to die; 'praps Hinna's nebber comin' back; 'praps de robber's comin' to break inter de house—don't know," and he ominously shook his head. "I nebber likes to hear noises in de night; dat's de time dat de warnin's given 'parently. I aluz listen, listen, 'fore I git t sleep, an' if dere's gwine to be a death, de n come. One night, suffin' come crash agin the house an' gib a groan', an' fore de summer was out, Jo h fall from de hoss, an' break his neck." "What do you think it was?" asked Dilly, "that

"Dun' know; dat's what nobody knows, 'parently 'praps 't was a dog-'praps 't was-'t was a ghosi 'Pears like all de dumb beasts know more'n we d

talk an' tell us all dey see, but dey gib de warnin'.

baby on the bed. She always called her Dovey, and Nebber shall forget it. Ye see I had de care of de that came to be its name. So laying the birdie down, stable, an' one night I was jest reposing myself to she began to look around for other amusement. There were the flowers of yesterday to be arranged in boquets and wreaths—they were still bright and fresh. Besides, Dilly was ambitious to finish a bright-hued what's got inter them are hosses that they is so agitative. mat before Hinna returned; so she budged about her ed! I'm bound ter see. So what's I do, though 'twas house keeping to get time. There was the dusting to twelve o'clock, but clap on my duds, an' light the lanbe done, yet the fire was to be kept up, and the dintern, an' go see what made de hosses dat skeery, dat ner prepared: altogether, business sufficient to divert dey break dere halters, an' gallop round de barn so. the child house-keeper.

But when I done got there, what's my s'prise ter find
She took especial pains with the arranging of her
ebery hoof layin' down, an' fast asleep! I tells ye dat are recurrence made my hair stand up! But I'll git de wood now," and Job went out for that purpose. He was none of the swiftest of mortals. you are the invited guest. I'm gwine to treat you What with his story telling and wood cutting, the aflike folks, and see if I can't coax a smile; and if you don't prick up your ears, and put by that naughty sky. As he deposited his last armful on the hearth. ternoon had slipped away till the sun was low in the

hesai d,"'Pears like I hafter go; don't be 'feard, Hinna'l be back right smart soon. I'd stay wid ye longer if I could, but massa he say, 'Come back 'fore night, Job,' an' I nebber likes ter trabble up dat lane from de river in de dark. De ghosts come dar mighty early, parently, de trees make it so dark. 'Praps you nebheered 'bout de time massa saunt me to dat lan on a errant to massa Jones?"

" No," said Dilly. " Did you see the ghosts there Well, I's gwine to tell yer. I rid Pelham to save my frien's as we sot around de fire. 'Twas mighty chilly, an' dey would make me stay an' take a bite of ash-pone dey was bakin'. Dat are ash-pone, 'twa sublime! We got talkin' 'bout the haunted lane, whar so many horses gits agitated an' runs away; an' dared me to look between Pelham's ears in de lane : though I knowed 'twas mighty dang'rous, I want gwine to be a coward afore dem all; so what's I do but take him up, though being as he had n't got nothcome to the lane. I never seed sich a place afore nor since. It was mighty woodsy, an' yit de moon or suffin or urrer, I could n't tell jestly what, 'twas all ter and you must take good care of us." Then, as she finished her dinner, she brought the dog part of her mince pie, saying, "Did n't I tell you I'd treat you way. I'd got to go through with what I'd undertook. Wall, I rid along, an' rid along, an' there was nothin' to be seen but that light, right in de path; all 'round 'twas darker 'n night. 'T was jest as still as de grave-yard, an' I thought, may be I'd get hum safe, and pretty soon. I jest looked about a little, an' dere, long side my hoss, was a great big dog, rackin' pit-tepat! pit-te-pat! Never heerd of sech a thing! er seed a dog rack afore! On'v you to think on't, a dog pacin' like a hoss! I shall 'member that to my dyin' day !-pit-te-pat ! pit-te-pat ! went dat dog ; and by wonder.
"Ah, darling Dove, God's kept us, and we are safe! Pelham he prick up his ears, an' sidled 'long, till I be the ghosts won't trouble me no more; and I started up Pelham, to git hum rapid, when right quick I seed tree men, an' not one of 'em had any head on! An' ittle bird-mother that she was.

Dilly had n't the heart to keep Bruno shut up; so side like; dey did n't stop, nor speak, but kept gwine, after breakfast she opened the door, saying, "Come, Bruno, you may sun yourself on the door-step."

side like; dey did n't make no noise wid dare feet, an' dey kept jest so fur from de hoss, whether he went Bruno, you may sun yourself on the door-step."

House-keeping and doll-tending kept her busy this fast or slow, gwine right long widout heads, jest de right out, an' my blood creep, creep; but at last I come to de end of de lane, an' de tree men went away

ute, an' gone de next!" Miserable company had Job proved! Dilly, with the western sky still aglow with golden rays, she shivered as if the damps of the night air had chilled her through, or glanced furtively about, as if expect ing to see a headless ghost stalk in at the open door But it was the manner, perhaps, more than ter, that wrought on her plastic mind. Old Job believed what he said. Every line of his wrinkled yet mobile face reflected his sincerity; his tones, also, impressed it, for like his race when excited, his stories "Yes, Bruno, go to Hinna! Watch Hinna!" still which to him had an awful meaning, were set off by the sympathetic cooperation of all the outer and inner all taking apt part in the recital, as easily sweeping the little, unreasoning, excitable listener into the

to have her cry, almost, and bore her in her arms, and tion, had closed the evening previous. Now she felt that glimmered faintly from the nearest planter This was baby-tending in earnest, and how poor lit- house. All else, as far as the eye could penetrate the ripple of the river, the hooting of the owl in th deep woods, all seemed to partake of the unearthly I have never seen it accounted for, why certain old till at length the view was too painful, and Dilly ladies of both sexes are fascinated with telling fright- threw herself upon the bed that she might not see the ful stories to young folks just when they ought not to, outer ghostly night scenery. But little rest did she find there. Her weird fancy once aroused held sway and her brain teemed with processions of frightfu Dilly was glad to see anybody she could call a forms. Her head became hot and feverish from ex-

quite a talker, and being now nearly superannuated, rors, she was unconscious of her real danger. It was not the spirits of the other world that such as she

asked Job, looking about- After hours of suspense she fell into a drowse, from which she was awakened by she knew not what. A "O, Bruno ! he's gone to find Hinna," said Dilly. flickering flame shot up from the expiring embers "'Pears like you'd be lonesome widout him. But I and as she opened her eyes, she saw a face looking in beber like de dogs, since my little Susy died, good at her through the window. At first she thought sh dreamed, but in an instant the lilusion was dispelled. "Don't like dogs! Why not?" said Dilly, open- That face, with its shaggy red beard, and evil eyes ther eyes with wonder.

"Why, dey howl, howl so, when anybody's gwine Dilly sprang to her feet, and quickly drew the shutter

"Oh!" said the susceptible Dilly, "Bruno howled going round the corner of the house, and in a moment ed by the mysterious, but now she was roused by

more the back door was tried. She had been unnerved by the mysterious, but now she was roused by known peril; and breathing a prayer for calmness and strength, she said,—
"Who's there?"
There was no answer, but the door was shaken riolently.
"Who's there, I say?"
"Open the door, and we won't kill yer," said a gruff voice with fearful oaths, "but if you don't open it ter onct, we'll cut yer throat for yer!"
The voice seemed to take her very life from her; but as the door rattled, the emergency revived her courage again, and she replied, in firm tones,—
"May be you won't find it so easy killing us all!", stepping as she spoke into Hinna's boots, and tramping round with a masculine step. It was a child's triatagem, but it gained her time, for again there was a consultation outside, followed by an interval of silence, then by a mocking laugh, showing that her decit was discovered; and some one flung himself to heavily against the door as to start it from its hinges. The sound woke Dove, and its cry woke the moth of a chair, as the assailant rushed against the door as econd time, she fired. An a wful stillness ensued, unshowned the contraction of the course of the same and fainter in the distance, as if something heavy was being borne away. Dilly burst into tears of joy at the deliverance, and soon partially recovering fainter and fainter in the distance, as if something heavy was being borne away. Dilly burst into tears of joy at the deliverance, and soon partially recovering fainter and fainter in the distance, as if something heavy was being borne away. Dilly burst into tears of joy at the reduced the contraction, and the confused shuffling of feet, growing fainter and fainter in the distance, as if something heavy was being borne away. Dilly burst into tears of joy at the reduced the confused shuffling of feet, growing fainter and fainter in the distance, as if something heavy was being borne away. Dilly burst into tears of joy at the reduced to the confused shuffling of feet, growing fainter and the confused sh Taking Dove in her arms, she raised the trap-door carefully so as not to disturb the mat that concealed it, and descended to the ceilar. The heavy tramping overhead, and the fierce oaths as the house-breakers scarched for her in the bed and under it, up the wide chimney, behind the wooden settee, peering into every nook and corner, tarrying only to plunder whatever of value came in their way, was painfully distinct. Would her hiding-place be found? She dared not think of what awaited her in such an event, but shudderingly clasped her babe to her breast, as she crouched in the corner. The search was unsuccessful, for none seemed to suspect the innocent looking mat that they trod upon, until at length a heavy foot stumbled against it, and the trap-door was disclosed.

"Ha! what's this?" said a rough voice, "here's

he raised the door, and looked into the darkness be- of feathers!

those terrible words, the door through which that horrid face peered seemed going round and round, and Dilly knew no more. When she recovered, she was on her couch again,

while Bruno sat licking her hand as it hung listlessly over the bedside, and old Job was bathing her brow with water from the spring. "Where-where am I? what's happened?" said

she, coming to consciousness.
"Bress de Fader! you's here, and you's safe from de kidnappers, an' Bruno's here, an' Hinna 'll be back

right smart quick. Don't be feered, honey, old Job'll take care on ye till Hinna gits hum!" Dilly's rescue was due equally to the old black,

and to the sagacious creature that now looked up in her face so affectionately. Job's superstitions were for once of service, though the result tended rather to confirm him in them. What Dilly dropped about Bruno's howling had

river to see if all was right with Dilly.

Meanwhile, Bruno accompanying Hinna on her re-

turn, scouring the country in advance, had struck on a suspicious trail, and following it with nose to the ground and tail erect, was dashing towards the cot-Bruno? Well, never mind, you shall go with marm Hinna, next time. I'm not afeered, I slept beautifully last night, and I'm gwine to to-night!" and in she ran to braid on her mat, and see if Dove still slept.

Washington, Dec. 2.

This is the quadrennial anniversary of the death ground and tail erect, was dashing towards the cottage as Job landed. The old negro had a horror of hobgoblins, but was brave in the encounter with caused by Old John's raid that the subscriber first mortal foes; and catching sight of the dog, knowing saw Virginia and the Capital. What a change since would have done honor to a tribe of Seminoles, strik-ing panic to the enemy, who, flying to their boat which had, at their back, and the control of the lower on their last attack they had drawn nearer the house, branch of the national Congress, had to utter their made good their escape. made good their escape.

LETTER FROM MRS. E. C. STANTON.

WOMEN'S NATIONAL LEAGUE, Room 20 Cooper | Institute, New York, Dec. 13, 1863.

DEAR GARRISON,-I was sorry to hear that, at the tion to petition Congress to amend the Constitution.

I hope, on consideration, you will see the bad policy of all specific petitioning,—either to amend the Constitution.

Brown's anniversary, that it was selected for the constitution of the Status of Freedom on the dome of the Status of the Status of Freedom on the dome of the Status of Freedom on the Status of Freedom on the Status of Freedom on the Status of the Status of Freedom on the Status of Freedom on the Status of the Status of Freedom on the Status

the earliest possible day. We propose to send in the first instalment of on the 14th day of January, and shall continue to roll up the petitions throughout the entire Union, and so long as slavery exists, and there is one man or woman to protest against that exerciple crime. The enthusiasm that is steadily growing out of this movement is indeed promising. The petitions are coming in daily by hundreds and thousands. Yesterday, one came in from Wisconsin with the signatures of 900 men and 900 women, all collected by one poor, infirm willow who has lost her husband and two sons in the war. In her letter she says, "I have registered the names, too, of every man and woman that will not sign the petition, that they may be handed over to the future scorn they so well deserve." In many of the petitions for women, the piace in its general features. The group of statuary whas for the past three or four years been in the hall of the House of Representatives, representatives.

As we keep the petitions from each State distinct, there is a chance to prove "State rights" in this race for freedom! At the last counting, New York was ahead! We who have watched this work in its beginnings, through months of struggle, doubt and discouragement, are now cheered and surprised with the genuine enthusiasm of the people everywhere. What we want is the united expression of the friends of freedom against slavery, from Maine to himself in New York, and first obtained prominer

W. L. GARRISON.

THE STATUE OF FREEDOM.

[Correspondence of the New York Tribune.]

Was there a prophecy in that moment when the slave became the artist, and with rare poetic justice reconstructed the beautiful symbol of freedom for America?

against it, and the trap-door was disclosed.

"Ha! what's this?" said a rough voice, "here's the place, arter all—I've kotched the bird now!" and North American Indians, with a fantastic head-result. he raised the door, and looked into the darkness below. "Jest pass a light, an' we'll dig her out'fore,
she knows it!"

A wild shouting, the baying of a dog mingled with
those terrible words, the door through which that horwhen the amended bead was finished, and on exhibition in the rotunda, an Irishman, inspecting it, said to his comrade, "Murther, Mike, what quare bird is this, wid his tail on the top of his head?" stands to-day, though Mr. Mills gave all his stands to-day, though Mr. Mills gave all his falent for its construction, and interpreted carefully and faithfully the orders which he received, the head-dress is an utter nondescript; and our Capitol is to wear a sign of barbarism for its very crown, because Jeff. Davis, worshipping slavery, despised the significant and grand old "Cap of Liberty."

A spirited debate has been carried on in the papers with reference to the ponderous shield on which the Goddess leans—a half border, with which the artists have taken the liberty to encompass it.

which the Godess leans—a hair border, with which
the artists have taken the liberty to encompass it,
giving it somewhat the appearance of bearing fifteen stripes, instead of the old thirteen. The critics charge that this was deliberately designed to
represent the fifteen slave States, instead of the
thirteen original members.

This is too bold an outrage for probability; besides,

What Dilly dropped about Bruno's howling had weighed heavy on his mind, and increased his sympathies for her in her loneliness, so that he could not sleep.

"What's the matter, Job?" his wife would say, as often as he turned restlessly in bed.

"Somethin's gwine to happen, 'pend 'pon it, Arabella," he would answer. "I has a persuadement somethin's gwine to happen!" And at daybreak the patriotism to conceive, and, Mills, though educated in South Carolina, too much honor to execute such a wanton and wicked mutilation of our national wanton and wicked mutilation of our national

WASHINGTON, Dec. 2. apologies. It was necessary that every good Republican speech should be rounded off with a deprecation of the John Brown raid. And when Lovejoy stood up in the House and said, "I will curse Old John Brown," his friends thought him rash. Well, "old things have passed away, and all things have become new." The martyr of Charlestown has Decade meeting in Philadelphia, you passed a resolu-tion to petition Congress to amend the Constitution.

of all specific petitioning,—either to amend the Constitution, impeach the Judges of the Supreme Court, or
to place the black and white soldiers on equal ground.
The petition for universal emancipation covers all these
specific abuses. Slavery abolished, no one will pass
behind the fair face of the Constitution for a heart of
blackness and villainy.

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specific abuses. Slavery abolished, no one will pass
behind the fair face of the Constitution for a heart of
blackness and villainy.

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specific abuses. Slavery abolished, no one will pass
behind the fair face of the Constitution for a heart of
blackness and villainy.

The petition for universal ground.

The petition for universal emancipation covers all these
specific abuses. Slavery abolished, no one will pass
behind the fair face of the Constitution for a heart of
blackness and villainy. When not a slave breathes in this republic, we care ing the bust, was placed in its position, looking to mot for the decisions of Judge Taney or Grier; and ward the rising of the sun, a shout went up from ter when black men have a chance to show themselves the heroes they are, they will soon settle the question of equality. Our work is to secure to them freedom at the earliest possible day. We propose to send in the features being grand beyond description. The broaves

woman that will not sign the petition, that they may be handed over to the future scorn they so well deassigned to the residence is filled with facts of husbands, brothers, and sons, who have died in the struggle for freedom. Such is the feeling among the mothers, wives, and daughters of the West. Where they dwell is to them of but little consequence, while they live in the memory of those brave men who have been true to their country. One mail brought petitions from Maine, Delaware, Kansas, and New Orleans, with hundreds of names.

As we keen the potitions from each State dis

DEATH OF GENERAL CORCORAN. General Corcoran, who was accidentally killed by a fall from his horse at Halifax Court House, Va., last week, was born in Carrowkeel, County Sligo, Ireland, Sept. 21, 1827. He was a decendant of the Irish General Sarsfield, famous in the wars of James the Second. His father was an officer in the English Louisians. Inasmuch as the petition demanding universal emancipation covers the whole ground, and is already in circulation North and South, do not let us distrust the public, or weaken our action, by changing the form of our petition.

Yours, truly,

E. CADY STANTON.

himself in New York, and first obtained prominence by refusing, in his capacity of colonel of an Irish regiment, to turn out at the reception of the Prince of Wales. At the breaking out of the rebellion, though in poor health, he marched at the head of his regiment to Virginia, fought bravely at the battle of Bull Run, was taken prisoner, and remained for a number of months in a Richmond prison. His recentions at New York, and first obtained prominence by refusing, in his capacity of colonel of an Irish regiment, to turn out at the reception of the Prince of Wales. At the breaking out of the rebellion, though in poor health, he marched at the head of his regiment to Virginia, fought bravely at the battle of Bull Run, was taken prisoner, and remained for a number of months in a Richmond prison. for a number of months in a Richmond His reception at New York and Bos release, will be remembered by our

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS

HEAD-QUARTERS, BOSTON, December 8, 1802 GENERAL ORDER, No. 42. In reply to many inquiries, the following Order is promulgated, being condensed from previous Proclamation and Orders:—

mulgated, being condensed from previous Productions and Orders:—

I. Veteran soldiers (that is, discharged soldiers who has served at least nine measths) will receive from the United States Government the veteran bounty of \$405, whether they emilist in any regiment or company now in the field, or in cities and in the field, or in cities of the following organizations, viz .—24 Rept children, Artillery, Colonel Franklin; the 54th Rept. of Infanty, (1st Veterana,) Colonel Granklin; the 54th Rept. of Infanty, (1st Veterana,) Colonel Granklin; the 54th (24 Veterana,) Colonel Granklin; the 57th, (24 Veterana,) Colonel Bartlett; the 53th, (3d Veterana), Colonel Granklin, of the first order of the 59th, (4th Veterana), Colonel Gould; ir into move the first order of the state of the 59th, (4th Veterana), Colonel Gould; ir into a translated to the 1st Regiment of Mass. Cavalry Volunteen, Colonel Sargent; or in the other new Battalies of the stateshed to the 1st Regiment of Mass. Cavalry Volunteers, Lieutenant-Colonel Arnold A. Rand, San, You and the full State bounty of \$402 from the United States, and the full State bounty of Massachusetts, in the manner set forth in the Proclamation of the General, will receive the bounty of Massachusetts, in the Manner of the State, and the full State bounty of Massachusetts, in the Manner set forth in the Proclamation of the General, will receive the full State bounty who enlist in either of the organizations, new or old, now in the field, or new long raised, Such new recruits will not receive \$302 from the United States. In they join one of the 4d regiments now in the field, States, but instead thereof, \$100 only from the United States. In they only only of the Cavalry Battalions are parts of old regiments now in the fall.

New recruits have, however, the right to join say manner or company not aircady full, whether new or all, if they do not not the fall, including in the say of the Cavalry Battalions and parts of the same of nine months' service and sounty instead of the larger o

mentioned.

It pays nine months' Veterans joining any organization new or old, \$402 bounty.

It pays raw recruits \$302, who go into old organization including the two Cavalry Battalions aforesaid.

The Commonwealth pays her full bounty to all classes of recruits, allowing them to join any regiment or company they please, if there is room to receive them.

IV. The United States officers do not offer any beam to men of color, nor do they pay them the full wages of a soldier. They pay \$10 per month, of which \$5 may be a clothing.

states.

Siothing.

This Commonwealth pays the full bounty of \$325 is lead on being mustered into the United States service as a \$8.2 sachusetts volunteer, to ALL soldiers, irrepreter of one extraction; or the soldier may, if he prefers it, receive to in advance, and monthly State pay, by way of bount, \$20 servers month.

in advance, and per month.

V. By Act of November 16, 1863, this Commonwell,
V. By Act of November 16, 1863, this Commonwell,
V. By Act of November 16, 1863, this Commonwell,
V. By Act of November 16, 1863, this Commonwell,

V. By Act of November 16, 1863, this Commonwald, out of its own Treasury, makes up to the 54th and 55m Massachusetts Volunteers the deficiency in their pay, and a paymaster has already gone to those regiment for the purpose of their payment.

VI. Volunteers now in the field, authorized under celes from the War Department to re-enlist as Veteras Volunteers, and who do re-enlist in Massachusetts Volunteers, (see General Orders, Nos. 33 and 34, from these find-quarters,) receive the full bounty offered by the United States, and also the full bounty off Massachusetts, of \$35 in advance, and \$20 per mesh, at their own election, (see Governor's Proclamation of November 18, 1863, and General Orders, Nos. 32, 33 and 34).

VII. Such Volunteers re-enlisting will be credited to the storms against present courtes under the last cell.

By order of His Excellency John A. Andrew, Governor and Commander-in-Chief. WILLIAM SCHOULER, Adjutant-General.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

HEAD-QUARTERS, BOSTON, December, 1863.

ENERAL ORDER, No. 44.

I. Pursuant to authority received from the United State Department of War, a regiment of Cavalry Volunteer, is e composed of men of color, enlisted for three year, as sooner decharged, is now in process of recruitment in his Commonwealth. It is known as the Fith Rejumat of Lassachusetts Cavalry Volunteers.

II. Lieut. CO. HENNY S. RUSSELL, of the Second Mannusctts Cavalry Volunteers, is designated its Celonel.

III. The United States pays no bounty to the recruit or this regiment under existing regulations, nor ways receeding \$10 per month, including \$3 per ment is tothing.

clothing.

IV. But this Commonwealth offers precisely the same loss ty offered to all other volunteers, viz: \$325 bounty, paid in Massachusetts after the volunteer in mutreed into his regiment; or, if he shall so elect, then \$50 bounty symble as aforesaid, and \$20 monthly bounty or pay, in addition to the pay now or hereafter received by him from the United States.

nited States.

V. Contaunications concerning the regiment may be adds to Colonel Henry S. Russell, No. 21 School Street, octon. The regiment will rendeavour at Camp Meigs, enderlife, Brig.-Gen. Pierce Commandant.

VI. The following is the organization of a regiment and a company of cavalry into the Volunteer Army of the nited States, under existing laws, viz:—

REGIMENT OF CAVALRY-Twelve Companies of Troops

1 Colonel.
1 Lieutenant-Colonel.

Surgeon.
Assistant Surgeons.
Assistant Surgeons.
Regimental Adjutant, (an extra Liest.)
Regimental Quartermaster, (an extra Liest.)
Regimental Commissary, (an extra Liest.)
Chaplain.
Veter mary Surgeon.

Veterinary Sergeant-Major. Quartern aster Sergeant.

2 Hospital St. wards. 1 Saddler Sergeant. 1 Chief Trumpeter. COMPANY OR TROOP OF CAVALEY.

> First Sergeant. Quartermaster Sergeant. Commissary Sergeant Sergeante Corporals.

Trumpeters.
Farriers or Blacksmiths. 1 Saddler. 1 Wagoner. • 60 Privates—minimum 78 Privates—maximum

78 Privates—minimum.
78 Privates—maximum.
79 Privates—maximum.
79 Privates—maximum.
70 Privates—maximum.
71 Privat

By order of His Excellency, John A. Anders, Governor, and Commander-in-Chief. WILLIAM SCHOULER, Adjutant-General.

ROUND HILL WATER-CURE.

DR. HALSTED, of Round Hill Water-Cure, Nerhampton, Mass., has so far perfected his "Motorphin its west; kindred woaknesses and ulcerations, can be consultation, and the following of his instruction. The plan and remedies for self or home treatment as petent and restorative. They dispel pain and weakness in the back, strengthen the nerves, tone the stomach, and the following of his instruction. Confirmed cases and bed-ridden patients can be so made relieved by one visit as to give them faith of ultimate relieved by one visit as to give them faith of ultimate reviews the strength of the self-water and the self-water

after a short treatment, its healthy comming and permanent.

This method is so simple and reliable that it is writing a revolution in the freatment of woman's disease. Particians are cordially invited to test its value. Their similar is also called to his treatment for neuralise and qualities, by which the vital forces are reaceed, straight and elasticity restored, and broken-down constitutions reached. The sames of thousands of invalids who have been curred at his institution are on record, with a history of their sufferings. Further information will be given,

Northampton, Mass., Nov. 25. BRAID PATTERNS STAMPED AT NO. GO WINTER STREET, AT PIVE CENTS PER TARD. Besten, Oct. 23, 1863.

M. H. HARDY, DRESS-MAKING BOOMS, No. 10, Oliver Place, Out of Essex Street, between }

THE EVE 221 WASHI

ROBERT F TERMS Four col pattars, if pay All remi relating to the p directed, (roar)

Advertise times at five occi-for three inserts ments inserted o The Ages pirania, Ohio athorised to ro The folio Committee, bu paper, vis: — W

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Refuge

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rained that it is One who knew battling against sl the recent messag dent would have can be approved to the recent messag dent would have can be seen to the recent message dent would be recent message to the recent m pproval; and the commended the end, and no slave Phillips would be praise should out earning a non-

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learning a new lar learning a new lar instrument. Whe lists, it was the thr pected,—and so we pected,—and so we pected,—and so we he eloquent thrum, men have cotrum, men have cotrum, men have cotrum, men have cotrum the eloquent thrum appoint them.

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Any direct, hearty dared much and be inferred from yet behind the many purpose, with my purpose, with my purpose, with his faults told."

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